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# CICERO'S SECOND PHILIPPIC

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*GILDERSLEEVE-LODGE LATIN SERIES*

# M. TULLI CICERONIS

## ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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# In Memoriam

HOWARD CROSBY

AND

HENRY DRISLER

FOUNDERS OF THE GREEK CLUB OF NEW YORK

(DECEMBER 30, 1857)

Doch, was alle Freundschaft bindet,
Ist, wenn Geist zu Geist sich findet;
Geistig waren jene Stunden,
Geistern bin ich noch verbunden.

Nimm nur, Fährmann, nimm die Miete
Die ich gerne dreifach biete!
Zwein, die mit mir überfuhren,
Waren geistige Naturen.

UHLAND

# PREFACE

It would seem unnecessary to accompany with apologetic words a college edition of Cicero's Second Philippic. A limited number, to be sure, of Cicero's shorter and simpler orations is generally read in preparation for college; but the parsing stage of study, in which most young people begin and end their acquaintance with the foremost orator of the Roman world, is hardly adequate for any just literary or historical acquaintance with his work. For any maturer study of Roman oratory the Second Philipic is preëminently suitable, inasmuch as, among the fifty-seven extant speeches, none belongs so decidedly to the world's literature as this. To interpret this masterpiece with due regard to its proud position has been my aim, and the various chapters of the Introduction will show the method I have followed in carrying it out.

A great portion of the exegetical matter has been drawn from a renewed study of all the orations written after the exile.* These have in common the striking revelation of Cicero's fervent belief that he was the parliamentary champion of the constitution. For the style, the *de Oratore* has been carefully studied. But while, in the course of this study, I have had my sense of Cicero's conscious art refreshed and deepened, it has seemed best not to descend to technical details as minute as, e.g., *numerus* in the cadence of the period. At the same time, I cannot lay too much stress on the conviction that without much elocutionary practice much of Cicero's force and art will remain buried.

* The other Philippics furnished a little more than two hundred items of relevant matter.

All relevant matter in Plutarch, Appian, and Dio Cassius has been excerpted, and the modern antiquarians, such as Madvig, Mommsen, Fischer, L. Lange, have been duly collated. The illumination that is to be derived from Cicero's correspondence is clearly shown in the second chapter of the Introduction.

When it was impossible to follow the Vatican MS., I have usually adopted the text of Mueller, for whose circumspect and accurate criticism I entertain a very high admiration. I have also weighed carefully Cobet's criticism. Other obligations, and especially those to Halm, Mayor, Peskett, Garatoni, Koch-Eberhard, I have acknowledged wherever they have been incurred. Particular mention, however, must be made of the admirable Lexikon of Merguet and of Orelli's Onomasticon. I have also swept the bibliographical broom through the last decades, but I have refrained from dumping my note-books upon the pages of this book.

The proof-sheets have had the advantage of the criticism of the chief editors, Professors Gildersleeve and Lodge, to whom I desire to offer my grateful acknowledgments.

Ernest G. Sihler.

New York University,
*May* 15, 1901.

# INTRODUCTION

### 1. The Tradition of the Oration in Antiquity

In the rhetorical schools of Rome this noted production of Cicero's political and personal hatred for Mark Antony was long eminent, if not preëminent. The Second Philippic was analyzed for the illustration of rhetorical tenets and rules; it was frequently declaimed in the rhetorical schools, and the bearing which it, as well as Cicero's other *Antonianae,* had on the master's later life and on his death invested the Second Philippic with a peculiar interest for teachers and students of Latin oratory. It is entirely consistent with the technical practice of those schools that they should have set their pupils the task of composing a reply in Antony's character. The sixth *Suasoria* of the elder Seneca (*Deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur*) gives us some indication of this practice and tradition, and we observe clearly, from the manner in which the various masters of Seneca's professional manhood dealt with this theme,[1] that their partisan fervor led them to identify themselves in large measure with their ideal; and Antony's striking down of his victim became in their eyes the crime inexpiable in the history of Roman oratory. Seneca, after briefly quoting the manner and the main qualities of the chief *declamatores,* adds, § 12: *Alteram partem pauci declamaverunt. Nemo ausus est Ciceronem ad deprecandum Antonium hortari; bene de Ciceronis animo iudicaverunt*—which would seem not at all unnatural, not only in the case of men of their profession, but in the

[1] The selection from Triarius, § 5, is in a great measure a reminiscence from *Phil.* II. 67: cf. Argentarius, *ib.* § 7, with *Phil.* II. 77.

case of most sympathetic critics of this extraordinary man. An echo of such *declamationes* may perhaps be found in Velleius Paterculus. This courtier, historian, and officer of Tiberius, probably still under the strong influences of his early youth, said of the *Philippicae* in general (II. 64): *Haec sunt tempora quibus M. Tullius continuis actionibus aeternas Antoni memoriae inussit notas . . . fulgentissimo et caelesti ore;* and his strong feeling rises to apostrophe as he abominates the proscription of Cicero (c. 66), even while he condemns the slayers of Caesar.

If Asconius Pedianus embraced the *Philippicae* in his commentary, the loss of this portion is profoundly to be deplored. The candid and luminous manner in which this critic has unraveled the facts involved in the *Miloniana* makes it very probable that he would have set before us the somewhat confused chronology of 44 B.C. with great distinctness. As his commentary and *argumenta* embraced all the orations from the *Rosciana* of 80 B.C. (Gellius, XV. 28) to the *Miloniana* of 52 at least, it is unlikely that he should not have gone on to the end of Cicero's orations. Just as, in discussing the *Rosciana*, Asconius dealt critically with Fenestella and with Nepos, so, if we had his commentary on the Second Philippic, we would have probably received a full account of Antony's harangues [1] against Cicero and a criticism of the value of Asinius Pollio's work on the civil war. The intense self-appreciation and *amour propre* of Pollio must have made it difficult for him to do justice to the memory of Cicero, particularly when dealing with the events of 44 and 43 B.C., in which he ranged himself on the opposite side. The eminent services of Quintilian in fostering the study of Cicero and maintaining the latter's supremacy against the vogue of Seneca's manner are familiar, and the study

[1] Not a little of the speech put into the mouth of Fufius Calenus by Dio Cassius, XLVI. 1–28, may be from that source. Cf. also Büdinger, *Cicero und der Römische Patriciat*, Vienna, 1881 (Vienna Academy).

of Cicero, undertaken by Tacitus in his youth, seems to point to the effectiveness of Quintilian's movement as a teacher and critic of Latin style. An actual count of Quintilian's citations of Cicero's orations shows at once the prominent place occupied by the Second Philippic;[1] and it becomes manifest how certain scornful passages, like *Phil.* II. 63 (*Tu istis lateribus*, etc.), had long become classical in the schools, and were cited to illustrate not one, but a number of precepts in rhetorical theory and practice. Amid the general and specific proofs of regard for—nay, imitation of—Cicero, which we find in the letters of the younger Pliny, the words *cuius oratio optima fertur esse quae maxima* (*Ep.* I. 20, 4) have by some been referred to the Second Philippic. It seems clear that Pliny does not mean to comprehend all the then extant orations of Cicero, but only those which were particularly current in the schools and those which were considered the standard for the cultivation of taste and power in oratory. The pleaders of the Flavian era did not dare to reproduce the bulk of some of Cicero's earlier speeches. No juror, Tacitus tells us, would endure *illa immensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio et Aulo Caecina legimus* (*Dial.* 20). As a matter of fact, when we glance at the proportion of citation in Quintilian, we see that *seven speeches* (or bodies of speeches) of Cicero decidedly outrank the rest in the practical repertory of the teacher and critic, and in this order: (First Action) *against Verres*, *pro Cluentio*, the *Miloniana*, *pro Ligario*, the *Philippics* (19 out of 25 citations are of the Second Philippic), *in Catilinam*, *pro Caelio*. Of these seven the one *pro Cluentio* is the largest; the Second Philippic is next in size, but by a long interval (in the proportion of 202 to 119 paragraphs).

[1] Passages of this speech are quoted or referred to by Quintilian, V. 10, 99; VIII. 4, 8; 4, 16; 4, 25; 6, 68; 6, 70; IX. 2, 26; 2, 47; 3, 13; 3, 29; 4, 44; 107; XI. 1, 25; 3, 39; 167; 172; XII. 10, 62.

Not irrelevant, in our brief survey of interest taken by the Romans themselves in this speech, is the noted passage in Juvenal (x. 114 sq.) in which he claims that the Second Philippic cost Cicero his life:

*ridenda poemata malo*
*quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,*
*volveris a prima quae proxima* (v. 124).

Fronto, the archaist, read Cicero's letters with more pleasure and profit to himself than the speeches; but Gellius, though he resembles Fronto in the interest he took in the study of vocabulary and the classic usage of words, still shows in his references the preëminence of the Second Philippic among the *Antonianae*, as he calls the group. He tells us (XIII. 22, 1), among other things, how an eminent rhetorical teacher in Rome, of Hadrian's time (117–138 A.D.), cited *Phil.* II. 76 to show what was the proper garb of men of senatorial rank; and he furthermore quotes in full the dramatic passage (*Phil.* II. 77) describing how Antony surprised his consort Fulvia, on his return from Massilia (45 B.C.), after having waited till dusk in a wineshop north of Rome (Gell. VI. 11, 3–6).[1]

When we examine the indices of Keil's *Grammatici Latini*, we see that the Second Philippic was quoted most of all the *Antonianae*,[2] that the First Philippic held second rank, and that the citations from the Second Philippic nearly equal the references to all the others combined.

[1] The divergences of this text from the Vatican MS. are interesting, for in Gellius' time there existed MSS. which enjoyed the prestige of being from—or at least traceable to—Cicero's secretary and freedman, M. Tullius Tiro, himself (cf. Gell. XIII. 21, 16).

[2] There are some twenty-four citations from the Second Philippic, under the following rubrics: *Cicero in II Philippicarum*, *Philippica II*, *in Philippicis*, *in Philippicis contra Antonium* (Priscian, *G. L.* III. 360, 7). Priscian also cites thus: *Cicero in M. Antonium libro II* (II. 386, 5).

The critical value of these citations is slight, unless we except VII. 468, 31, *non solum de die sed etiam ad diem* (*in diem* Cicero) *vivere*, where editors now generally read *bibere* with Hauschild.

The citations are often (e.g. II. 386, 5) loose, probably from memory, and point to the fact that the Second Philippic figured largely in current school-reading. No literary or even rhetorical observations are substantiated by these quotations, but mainly lexicographical and syntactical points. The famous scornful passage (*Phil.* II. 63) *frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus* occurs four times: it was also regarded as one of the strongest passages by Quintilian (VIII. 4, 8), and was used by him for various purposes of illustration.

## 2. The Year 44 (after March 15) from Cicero's Point of View

The attempts to fix in detail the proper sequence of many events of the year 44 B.C., preserved in Appian and in Dio Cassius alone, have on the whole proved futile. These Greek historians of the second and third centuries A.D. are both sincere admirers of the imperial form of government with which their lives and careers were, in the main, wrapped up.[1] Perhaps the simplest way to show the divergences in their accounts is to place them side by side.

| Appian (*Bell. civile, Bk.* II.) | Dio Cassius (*Bk.* XLIV.) |
| --- | --- |
| Dolabella and others manifest sympathy with the deed of March 15. The conspirators fear Caesar's veterans, also Antony and Lepidus (c. 119). The praetor Cinna calls Caesar a tyrant (c. 121). Dolabella assumes consular power and abuses the memory of Caesar. The gladiators of D. Brutus | March 15: The conspirators withdraw to the Capitol where they spend the day and night. Sympathizers claim share in the deed (c. 21). Dolabella assumes consulate, visits Capitol. Lepidus occupies the forum with troops, during the night, and holds a *contio* |

[1] There is a strong probability that Dio Cassius was influenced by Livy's presentation—the enumeration of the excessive honors greedily accepted by Caesar (XLIV. 4, sq.) contains an implied condemnation of Caesar, and when Augustus called Livy a Pompeian, it is fair to suppose that he remained always more or less irreconcilable. Appian, on the other hand, who may have been influenced by Pollio's account, is either bitterly hostile to Cicero or he ignores him; and his references, when calmly considered, seem to point to a partisan source.

(c. 122), Antony, and Lepidus decide to temporize (c. 124). Transfer of Caesar's funds and papers to house of Antony (126). Session of Senate (c. 127). *Contio* of Lepidus, on the 16th (c. 131); vote to ratify Caesar's acts and his land-allotments, in the Senate (c. 135; no mention of Cicero). Speech of Brutus on Capitol; the land-interests of Caesar's veterans (cc. 137–141). Next day, *contio* called by consuls. Cicero commends the amnesty. Hostages given to Brutus and Cassius (c. 142). Testament of Caesar; Octavius adopted; Park of Caesar and legacy of money to citizens. Caesar's corpse brought to forum by Piso (c. 143). *Oratio funebris* by Antony (cc. 144–145); it fans the emotions of the populace into fury (c. 146). Riotous excesses; massacre of Helvius Cinna (c. 147).

*Book* III.

Senate held Antony responsible for the consequences of his funeral speech (c. 2). Amatius put to death by Antony without trial (c. 3). Estrangement of the plebs from Antony. Joy of the Senate. Indemnities for Sextius Pompey seem to make for the security of the conspirators (c. 4). Antony's manipulation of Caesar's papers (c. 5). Brutus and Cassius, though praetors, virtually retire from public life. Senate gives them *cura annonae* (c. 6). Antony induces Dolabella to ask for on the morning of the 16th against the conspirators. Antony (wrong date) calls senate to temple of Tellus (c. 22). Cicero's speech for amnesty (cc. 23–33). General amnesty voted (c. 34). Satisfaction of majority in being rid of Caesar's rule (c. 34). Antony's *oratio funebris* (cc. 36–49). The populace, roused to fury against the conspirators, kills Helvius Cinna by mistake (c. 50). Altar to Caesar overturned by consuls. Law abrogating dictatorship (c. 51). How Antony acted as guardian of Caesar's papers; his acts of destruction and forgery; he appropriates money and bestows offices; levies contributions on individuals, nations, and kings. He treats young Octavius with contempt, and acts as heir of both Caesar's power and fortune. Personal alliance of Antony and Lepidus.

*Book* XLV.

Octavian assumed succession at Brundisium. Is treated with insults by Antony, who prevents the passing of the *lex curiata* for the ratification of Octavian's adoption (c. 5). Octavian prevented by Antony from getting the vacant Tribunate of the People. Octavian promises to pay the legacy of Caesar to People. Games to *Venus Genetrix* (c. 6). Octavian places statue of Caesar crowned with star in temple of

Syria, not from Senate, but through a *plebiscitum* (c. 7). Senate unwillingly gives Macedon to Antony; other provinces to Cassius and Brutus (c. 8). Octavius goes to Rome against his mother's advice (c. 10). Meets Antony with studied respect (c. 15 sq.) Wants funds to distribute legacy to 600,000 citizens (c. 17). Octavian taunted by Antony (cc. 19–20). Open feud between Antony and Octavian (c. 21). Games of Brutus given (July 7) in the latter's absence by C. Antonius (c. 23). Brutus gains no popularity thereby. Plan of Antony to gain the six legions in Macedon (c. 24). Antony coddles Senate by abrogating dictatorship. He secures the Macedonian legions (c. 25). Antony asks for Cisalpine Gaul, which D. Brutus then had (c. 27). The Optimates then first (?) become aware of Antony's designs against themselves. Antony opposes Octavian in the matter of placing Caesar's chair at games. Octavian successfully works upon plebs and upon his father's beneficiaries (c. 28). Antony secures Cisalpine Gaul through a plebiscitum with Octavian's support. Tribunes of the People bought by Antony (cc. 29–30). Antony, by an edict, prevents Octavian's candidacy for the Tribunate. Octavian sends agents to his father's veteran-colonies. His disguised emissaries work among Antony's legions (c. 31). Revelation of Antony's designs in his address Venus Genetrix. Month *Iulius.* Soldiers attached to Octavian. Antony publicly insults Octavian in a court (c. 7). Antony proposes colonies in Pomptine marshes. C. Antonius gets Macedon. Mark Antony gets Cisalpine Gaul, with the legions sent to Apollonia. Indemnities to Sextius Pompey (c. 9). Antony and Octavian actually hostile, but not openly so, as yet. Public sympathy stronger for Octavian (c. 11). Hope of conservatives to overthrow Antony through Octavian. The war began thus: Antony was at Brundisium; Octavian's agents were working among his troops. Octavian personally, at Capua among Caesar's colonists, gives great bounty to *Evocati* (reënlisting veterans) and proceeds to Rome with them. At Rome the tribune Canutius calls a *contio* for him, which Octavian addresses. Octavian goes to Etruria to gather forces there (c. 12). Antony niggardly at Brundisium; mutiny. Military executions before the eyes of Antony and Fulvia. Antony marches north; the 4th legion and the *legio Martia* at Alba secede to Octavian. Antony transacts some business; then, having adminis-

to the military tribunes (cc. 33–37). Tension between Antony and Octavian is acute (c. 39). Octavian apprised of sentiments of the forces and of veterans. Antony goes to Brundisium. Octavian goes with funds to Campania; raises about 10,000 men (c. 40). Temporary danger of Octavian; his further levies near Ravenna (c. 42). Mutiny among Antony's forces at Brundisium; his bloody measures of repression (c. 43). Ariminum the objective point of Antony (c. 44). He enters Rome and convokes Senate to complain of Octavian. On entering the Senate he learns that *legio* IV and *legio Martia* had seceded to Octavian. Driven back from walls of Alba, Antony goes to Tibur. The war was now on, as Decimus Brutus refused to yield up Cisalpine Gaul (c. 46).

tered oath to remaining troops and to those senators who were with him, hastens to Cisalpine Gaul on November 28 (c. 13).

Decimus Brutus refuses to yield the province. Octavian in a quandary, for he hates both D. Brutus and Antony. He puts off, for the present, the execution of his revenge on the regicides (c. 14).

We have brought these parallel summaries down, approximately, to the point where Cicero published the Second Philippic. Appian's bold construction, in which he rides roughshod over exact chronological sequence, is patent enough from the parallel.

The year 44, however, presents an utterly different aspect when considered from Cicero's point of view. The most striking fact is the degree with which Cicero treats Octavianus Caesar as a negligible quantity during the *greater part of the year*. We realize how vastly more difficult it was for a contemporary to measure the relative importance of persons and events from day to day and from month to month. It was only when the two claimants to Caesar's succession began to take the field, quite late in the autumn, that he began to realize the actual situation, without,

however, sounding the deep cunning of young Caesar Octavianus.

This will all be clear from the following summary of Cicero's life during this period:

March 15. Cicero was possibly a witness of the assassination of Caesar, although not in the plot.

March 17. Senate in temple of Tellus. (*Phil.* II. 89.) Cicero pleaded for amnesty (*Phil.* I. 1; he considered this his own measure). Munatius Plancus and Antony also spoke. Early in April, Cicero quitted Rome, which he did not reënter until August 31, 44. Cicero's idea of a *libera legatio* as a way for himself out of the trouble. (*Fam.* XI. I.) The only absolutely safe abode would be with Sextius Pompey in Spain. 'I could not speak in the Senate on March 18.' (Case of Caesar's veterans.)

April 9 or 10. Cicero, at Lanuvium, is sorry that he has not accepted a *libera legatio* before August, 45. Caesar's veterans a dangerous element; their feelings may easily be fanned into flame. (*Att.* XIV. 4.) Cicero's political friends have neither funds nor troops.

April 12. Cicero at Fundi. He does not see how he can take any part in public life. (*Att.* XIV. 6.)

April 15. Cicero at his Formianum. (*Att.* XIV. 7.)

(Same day.) Cicero at his villa at Sinuessa. Hirtius, Pansa, Balbus, at Baiae. (*Att.* XIV. 7.) Fundamental idea: 'We have no settled government.' (*Fam.* XI. 17.)

April 18. Cicero at Puteoli. 'The funeral of Caesar spoiled everything.' (*Att.* XIV. 10.) Octavius came to Naples on the preceding day.

April 21. Octavius has just arrived at his stepfather's neighboring villa. The youth is 'mihi totus deditus.' Cicero has to give lessons in oratory (*Att.* XIV. 11) to Hirtius and Pansa, consuls for 43.

April 26. Decimus Brutus has reached his legions in Cisalpine Gaul. (*Att.* XIV. 13.) Cicero feels that he cannot be neutral in the contingency of civil war. Has

clear vision as to his own sphere. 'Will *libere decerni* be possible at Rome (*Att.* XIV. 14) on June 1? If not, we have merely *domini mutatio.*' Cicero hopes to be on hand.

May 1. Cicero, at Cumae, is greatly encouraged by acts of Dolabella. Feels a desire to visit his son Marcus at Athens. (*Att.* XIV. 15 and 16.)

May 3. Cicero at his Pompeianum; hopes Dolabella will strengthen the position of Brutus. Cicero states why he had been away from Rome all this time. 'Caesar is a scoundrel' (*impurus homo*). Cicero deplores Antony's forgeries of Caesar's papers. Antony now at Capua. Free speech of political opposition now more dangerous (*Att.* XIV. 17) than when Caesar lived.

May 8. Cicero still at his Pompeianum. (*Att.* XIV. 19.) [Dolabella still owes Tullia's dowry.]

May 11. Atticus does not agree with Cicero in considering Brutus the central personage in the work of restoring the republic. Antony's plans to travel about, canvassing among Caesar's veterans. (*Att.* XIV. 21.) 'I have run my race; let the younger generation look to the future.'

May 14. 'The Caesareans *timent otium.*' (*Att.* XIV. 22.) They say Caesar made a mistake in being so mild (*clemens*). People here (at Puteoli) warn me not to appear in Senate on June 1.' Cicero desires no reunion with Publilia (his second wife).

May (exact date uncertain). Letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony from Lanuvium.

May 17. Cicero at Puteoli. Antony had a short time before left Misenum (hard by). 'Hirtius is devoted to me.' (*Att.* XV. 1.)

May 18. Cicero finds Brutus' *Contio Capitolina* of March 15, now put in writing. Cicero to revise it (slightly) before publication. '*Ego scripsissem ardentius.*' 'Brutus used his restrained ("Attic") manner.' (*Att.* XV. 1, b.)

(Same day.) At the Vescianum (on the Liris). (*Att.* XV. 2.)

May 22. Cicero at Arpinum. 'I shall not obey the victors' (of any impending civil war). Cicero does not care to write a speech as λογογράφος for Brutus. *Multa dicentur, multa scribentur a nobis, sed alio modo et tempore.* (*Att.* XV. 3, 2.) Notice the frame of mind: Philippics foreshadowed.

May 24. Cicero has received a letter from Q. Fufius Calenus, who seeks reconciliation. (*Att.* XV. 4.) 'I dislike the fellow.' Antony's plans aim at war. Decimus Brutus is to be deprived of his province. 'We were driven *by fear* to confirm Caesar's acts.'

May 27 or 28. Cicero at his Tusculanum. 'Hirtius urges that I keep away from Rome on June 1. I think I shall. But I am absolutely indifferent as to whether I incur Antony's suspicion or not.' (*Att.* XV. 5.) Reasons why Cicero does not care to be in Rome.

May 31. Cicero at his Tusculanum. (*Att.* XV. 8.) Has written to Antony about a *legatio* as well as to Dolabella. He included Antony because he feared Antony's temper.

June 1. Meeting of the Senate: the Senate is overawed by Antony's display of force. (*Phil.* II. 108.)

June 2 or 3. Dolabella has made Cicero his *legatus.* (*Att.* XV. 11.)

June 8. Cicero at Antium. Conference with Brutus, Cassius, Servilia, etc.: Cicero, utterly discouraged by the general impression, feels inclined to go abroad. (*Att.* XV. 11.)

June 10. Cicero at Astura. He is delighted with Octavianus. 'At all events, we must separate him from Antony.' (*Att.* XV. 12.)

June 13. Cicero at Astura. He still resents the haughtiness of Cleopatra. Is dissatisfied with his steward Eros. Hopes to go to his Tusculanum presently. (*Att.* XV. 15.)

June 16–19. Civil war is bound to come. 'My *legatio* will deceive no one as to the situation, viz., that I have abandoned hope.' He calls Caesar *illum tyrannum;* Rome a 'dragnet' (no place then to trust himself to). Would

have gone away from Italy earlier but for the confusion of his finances (Eros); he does not know whether he is solvent or not.

June 21. Cicero at Tusculanum writes to Tiro: *Ego tamen Antoni inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere volo.* (*Fam.* XVI. 23.)

June 25. (Brutus began to move on his journey early in July.) Cicero, at Anagnia, writes to Oppius: What course shall I pursue? Compares 49–48 B.C. (*Fam.* XI. 29.)

July 2. Cicero at Arpinum. Declines to be a spectator at the Praetorian games (*Ludi Apollinares*) of Brutus, given in the latter's absence. *Me, qui Romam omnino post haec arma* (June 1?; *Phil.* II. 108) *non accesserim.* (*Att.* XV. 26.)

July 7. Praetorian games of Brutus. Nonis Quinctilibus (Iuliis).

July 8. Cicero at Νῆσις (Neside), near Misenum. He is furious at the official renaming of the Quinctilis month as *Iulius.* (*Att.* XVI. 1.)

July 9. Cicero at Puteoli; Brutus with him. He plans a route for Greek journey. '*Dubito an Venusiam tendam et ibi expectem de legionibus.*' (*Att.* XVI. 5.) First mention of Antony's Macedonian legions.

July 10. Brundisium route now out of the question, because the legions are said to be coming. Brutus wants to hear fully how the games (of July 7) have been received. (*Att.* XVI. 4.)

July 17. Cicero at his Pompeianum. Atticus had recently seen Antony at Tibur; Brutus still at Nesis. Cassius near by, at Neapolis. (*Att.* XVI. 3.)

July 20. Cicero at Velia, *en route* for Greece. (*Fam.* VII. 20.)

July 25. Cicero at Vibo. (*Att.* XVI. 6.)

August 1. Session of Senate at Rome; Piso spoke against Antony. (*Att.* XVI. 7.) '*Numquis Pisoni est adsensus? Num rediit ipse postridie?*' (*Fam.* XII. 2, 1; cf. *Phil.* I. 10.) Cicero arrives at Syracuse. (*Phil.* I. 7.)

August 4. Open letters of Brutus and Cassius (*edictum*) to Antony from Neapolis. (*Phil.* I. 8.)

August 17. Brutus meets Cicero near Velia. (*Phil.* I. 9.)

August 19. Cicero at Leucopetra. Why he abandoned his plan of going to Greece. Glad he did not go; 'money tight in Rome: *propter metum armorum.*' Does not expect any political initiative at Rome now. 'How was Piso received? A man of my age is not far from the tomb, any way.' (*Att.* XVI. 7.)

August (end). Cicero writes to Matius, one of the few Caesareans of the nobler sort. (*Fam.* XI. 27.) Matius claims that the slayers of Caesar have not yet made good their claim that Caesar's death was useful to the State.

August 31. Cicero reënters Rome.

September 1. Session of Senate; business: *de supplicationibus* (sc. of Caesar; *Phil.* I. 12). Cicero, feigning exhaustion from travel, did not attend. Antony, furious at this, threatens to send artisans to demolish Cicero's Palatine mansion. (*Tam acerbe . . . vobis audientibus; Phil.* I. 11 and 12.)

September 2. Cicero, Antony being absent, delivered in the Senate his First Philippic. Its tone was still moderate and conservative. He recounts those public acts of the consul Antony which made for order and good government, with commendation. He had been encouraged to return, having heard in the south that Antony 'was to put away his evil counsellors' and return to the constitutional leadership of the Senate, abandoning Cisalpine and the other Gaul also (§ 8). But he also charged Antony with the following: That Brutus could no longer safely stay at Rome (§ 9); that Antony had had passed an act providing for the worship of Caesar (§§ 12, 13); the removal of treasure from temple of Ops (§ 17); a law vitiating the institution of jurors (§ 19), also one rendering futile the *quaestio de vi* (§ 21); cancelling of taxes of entire provinces (§ 24); forgeries of

Caesar's papers (§ 25). In a word, he firmly and resolutely threw down the glove, condemning utterly the various acts of usurpation perpetrated by the rising despot. He does not wish to pass from life without uttering his political convictions, and that, too, without any hope of achieving practical results: *Non* (§ 10) *ut proficerem aliquid—nec enim id sperabam nec praestare poteram—sed ut, s i q u i d m i h i h u m a n i t u s a c c i d i s s e t* (*multa autem videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum*) *huius tamen diei vocem testem reipublicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se voluntatis*—his political testament, in fact: words of serious and noble import. 'Antony *inimicitias mihi denuntiavit.*' (*Phil.* v. 19.)

September 19. Antony, after hard rhetorical preparation at Tibur, uttered in the Senate his invective against Cicero (cf. speech of Fufius Calenus in Dio Cassius (XLVI. 1–28), the main points of which Cicero analyzed in the first, or defensive part of his Second Philippic. This discourse, never actually delivered, is cast in the dramatic form of an immediate reply to Antony on the same day at the same session.

September (end). Cicero cannot *tuto in senatum venire.* (*Fam.* XII. 2.) He has heard Cassius' opinion of the First Philippic.

September (end). Cicero hears from Brutus (*ad Brutum*, I. 16, 3): Brutus chides him severely for his attitude to young Octavian, an attitude the vicious elements of which were *imbecillitas et desperatio.* From *ad Brutum* I. 17, 6 we learn to what Brutus is chiefly opposed: *Regnum—imperia extraordinaria—dominatio et potentia quae supra leges esse velit.*

October 25. Cicero at his Puteolanum. Cicero has completed his Second Philippic: *Orationem tibi misi. Eius custodiendae et proferendae arbitrium tuum. Sed quando illum diem, cum tu edendam putes.* (*Att.* XV. 13.)

November 2. Cicero at his Puteolanum. Octavian is working on the veterans at Casilinum and Calatia, paying them 500 denarii per man (about $90). Antony is moving on Rome with the *legio Alaudarum*; three others are marching along the Adriatic. Octavian has advised Cicero to go to Rome. 'Shall I stay here, shall I go to Rome or to Arpinum?' (*Att.* XVI. 8.)

November 4. Cicero at his Puteolanum. He repeats this question to Atticus. '*Vereor ne valeat Antonius, nec a mari discedere libet et metuo nequae ἀριστεία me absente.*' (*Att.* XVI. 9.)

November 5. Cicero at his Puteolanum. He hears Atticus' approval of the Second Philippic (*Att.* XVI. 11), with a few suggestions of minor changes. 'Keep the MS. from A. Fufius Calenus and from Matius. D. Brutus, I see, is now the objective point of Antony's military movements. Curse him! Octavian daily urges me to go to Rome, and save the State a second time.' Of Octavian he judges thus: *Romam veniet cum manu magna, sed est plane puer* (§ 6): *putat senatum statim. Quis veniet? Si venerit, quis incertis rebus offendet Antonium? Kal. Januariis erit fortasse praesidio, aut quidem ante depugnabitur.*—Plan of *De Officiis*.

November 6. Cicero at his Puteolanum. Has received pleasant letter from Oppius. Expects to be at Rome November 12. (*Att.* XVI. 12.)

November 8. Cicero at his Sinuessanum. General talk that Antony would on that date stop at Casilinum. 'I have therefore changed my plan. I shall now not go to Rome by the Appian Road. Antony is swift, like Caesar. I shall go to Arpinum. Shall I stay at Arpinum? Shall I approach nearer? (i.e. go to my Tusculanum). Shall I go to Rome?' (*Att.* XVI. 10.)

November 9. Cicero at Aquinum. His movements to be directed by Atticus. (*Att.* XVI. 13, a.)

November 11. Cicero at Arpinum. 'May I come

(safely) nearer to Rome? If Ant. and Oct. are well-balanced in power, then: *quiescendum.*' (*Att.* XVI. 13, b.)

November 11. '*Ardeo studio historiae.*' Under what Censors was C. Fannius Trib. Pl.? (*Att.* XVI. 13, c.)

About November 15. Cicero at Arpinum. He is very uncertain about the future. Octavian's influence, if strong, is sure to be baneful to the interests of Brutus. 'Shall I be in Arpinum or in my Tusculanum when Antony comes to Rome?' Tells of his treatise περὶ καθήκοντος (*de Officiis*). Cicero is still waiting for the opinion of Sextus Peducaeus on the Second Philippic. (*Att.* XVI. 14.) Clearly it was not yet given out.

November 28. Antony's address to the Senate on Capitol cut short by bad news from his legions. (*Phil.* XIII. 19; V. 23.)

November (late). How to get Tullia's dowry from Dolabella. Terentia's dowry still due her. Cicero has heard from Sextus Peducaeus about Second Philippic. (*Att.* XVI. 15.)

December 9. '*Romam veni a. d. V Idus Decembres.*' (*Fam.* XI. 5, 1.)—It was probably soon after this time and before December 20, 44, that Cicero published the terrible invective. He had staked his political future and his life on the fall of Antony. The savage despotism of Antony, he knew full well, would not spare him if Antony ever should rise again to the top of the political tide. Antony's oriental career later verified in every particular the arraignment of Cicero's pen.

### 3. The Main Lines of Cicero's Political Judgment

The time when the depreciation of Drumann and of Mommsen dominated the judgment of scholars as to the political character of Cicero has probably gone by. The question in our own day is not so much whether it is still worth while to controvert the one or the other as to

inquire into the idiosyncrasy out of which these utterances have come. The elder historian, Drumann, revealed in his preface to vol. I. of his Roman History, 1834, his personal point of view—in a way which would seem to be incredible, had not the Koenigsberg professor uttered it himself: 'Roman history proves that republican forms of government are not permanently suited to mankind such as it is' (p. iv.). He believes that the 'haven of monarchy' is the normal finality of perfect political development: 'Not against my will, but without the same, my work is a eulogy of monarchy,' etc. (p. viii.). So far as Cicero is concerned, no matter how minute the detail or how petty the circumstance, Drumann, like a retained barrister, strives to present him *in an odious light*. He is thoroughly partisan, thoroughly unfair, and biassed to the point of perversion—actually going so far as to compare Cicero to Robespierre. (I. p. 171 sq.) But even then Cicero did not lack sympathetic defenders; for while Drumann, speaking of Cicero's philosophical authorship of 44 B.C., says scornfully (I. p. 151): 'Instead of penning what he had publicly uttered, inspired by applause, he occupied himself with writing books to kill burdensome time,' a much greater man and greater historian, Niebuhr, *Vorträge über Römische Geschichte* (delivered before 1830), Berlin, 1848, III. p. 85, speaks more correctly: 'In this summer Cicero developed the greatest intellectual activity. He began the books *de Officiis*, he wrote *de Divinatione, de Fato, Topica, de Gloria,* and an enormous number of letters, many of which are not preserved. I know of no man who was so intensively active as was Cicero at this time: an ordinary being would be stupefied amid such circumstances, and think of the present only with consternation. Cicero knew everything that transpired, but did *not at all permit himself to be overwhelmed by what he could not prevent, and he turned all his thoughts towards the domain of thought. That in this*

*occupation he found distraction from his grief demonstrates the greatness of his soul.'* As for Theodor Mommsen, his enormous erudition in the domain of Roman private and public law, in Roman epigraphy, and in practically every field of Latin philology gave for about one generation to the moral and political epigrams of a comparatively early work an authority which they do not deserve. Merivale, Freeman, Ritschl, L. von Ranke, Ludwig Lange, never accepted these epigrams; and now men like Hübner, Zielinski, Boissier, Max Schneidewin, Weissenfels, O. E. Schmidt, Herzog, Gardthausen, are raising their voices in opposition. The first volume of Mommsen's History appeared in 1854, when he was only thirty-seven years of age: later editions have not modified a word or phrase. Cicero must be degraded because the worship of Caesar required it. He who sent to the block the leaders of the Veneti, strangled the patriot Vercingetorix, and made the young queen of Egypt his concubine was no self-seeker, but was dominated by a patriotism inspired by genius (genialer Patriotismus). Therefore his adversaries Pompey, Cato, Cicero could not be sane nor even respectable; but the first is a drill-sergeant, the last a political weather-cock, while Cato was a semi-lunatic and crazy knight-errant (der bocksteife und halbnärrische Cato, der Don Quixote der Aristocratie, III. p. 183). The Caesarean Sallust has done ample justice to Cicero's services of 63 B.C., and the autocrat himself at all times treated Cicero as the foremost man of letters, and his pen and voice as a great and formidable force (cf. *Brutus*, 253); for Caesar's oratory was soon extinguished by the brighter light of Cicero, as Tacitus tells us (*Dialogus*, 21). Cicero's finished portrait of Caesar will outlive all the Caesarolatry.[1]

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[1] *Phil.* II. 116: *Multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore, multis periculis quod cogitarat, effecerat; muneribus, monimentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinxerat: quid multa? attulerat iam liberae civitati partim metu, partim patientia, consuetudinem serviendi.*

Cicero, it is true, was excluded by the trend of the military rivalry of the declining republic from any real or lasting leadership. He lived, to use Dio Cassius' felicitous phrase, in the era of the δυνάσται. Early in 63 he baffled Caesar's pseudo-democratic agrarian legislation and circumvented anarchy later on. He had already, as the rising *patronus*, undertaken the prosecution of Verres against Hortensius, and neither this nor his impatience with Sulla's jury laws rendered him a *popularis* politician. To understand Cicero and to do him justice, we must glance briefly at his political judgments where he was free, where alone he could be truly free. His ideal was the republic of Polybius' analysis, the republic of Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius: those men he loved, the institutions of that generation he idealized (cf. *de Orat.* I. 211; II. 154). The tradition of senatorial primacy in legislation as well as in administration began to suffer severely from the time of the Gracchi on, when first it was revealed what havoc could be wrought by the double initiative of senatorial and tribunician legislation, the *lex* and the *plebiscitum*. Only three *Tribuni Plebis* of the post-Scipionian chronicles were not some man's men: Tiberius Gracchus in 133 B.C., Gaius Gracchus in 123–122 B.C., and M. Livius Drusus in 91 B.C. All the others, e.g. Appuleius Saturninus in 100 B.C., P. Sulpicius Rufus in 88 B.C., Sicinius in 76 B.C., Gabinius in 67 B.C., Manilius in 66 B.C., were instruments, mainly, of military men. So, too, Vatinius in 59 B.C., Curio in 50 B.C., were Caesar's tools. Cicero radically condemned the innovations of the Gracchi as revolutionary and seditious, while doing full justice to their eminence in oratory;[1] whereas the writer *ad Herennium* presents them as martyrs (e.g. IV. 31). Thus even in 88 B.C. these

[1] *Brut.* 103: *ab ipsa republica est interfectus.* Cf. *de Harusp. Respons.* 41; *pro Sestio*, 103; *Lael.* 37; *de Legg.* 3, 24: *regnum ocupare conatus est; Lael.* 41; *Rep.* I. 31; *Legg.* III. 20: *C. vero Gracchi tribunatus . . . nonne omnem reipublicae statum perturbavit (permutavit)? Cat.* IV. 10; I, 4; while his oratory is fully valued, e.g. *Font.* 29.

two great names divided the two great parties in public life. And thus, too, the Caesarean Sallust (*Iug.* 41), 'qui veram gloriam iniustae potentiae anteponerent.' Cicero therefore consistently disapproved of the condemnation by *Gracchani iudices,* in 111 B.C., of Opimius, the chief slayer of the younger Gracchus (*Brut.* 128). On the other hand, he refers with evident approval to the tranquil tribunate (*tacitus tribunatus*) of his ideal and exemplar in oratory, L. Licinius Crassus (*Brut.* 160). Of Saturninus he says: *publice est interfectus* (*Brut.* 224); he calls the tribune *hostis populi Romani* (*pro Rab. Perduell.* 18). Even M. Livius Drusus, the great tribune of 91 B.C., is not estimated clearly or fully: to Cicero's mind a consistently patriotic tribune was a rare or unique phenomenon in the world of Roman politics. P. Sulpicius Rufus is highly honored as a rising orator of Cicero's own youth, and assigned a place as one of the interlocutors in the *de Oratore;* still, politically, Cicero condemns his policy of 88 B.C., although with considerate words: *Sulpicium ab optima causa profectum . . . longius quam voluit popularis aura provexit* (*de Harusp. Resp.* 43).

As for Marius and Sulla, more than superficial attention is required to comprehend Cicero's consistency. His fellow-Arpinatian Marius is extolled for his great military exploits not only in the hexametrical *Marius* of Cicero's youthful pen (*Att.* XII. 49, 1), but also in very many passages in the Orations.[1] His boorishness is treated with a gentler hand (*pro Archia,* § 5) than e.g. by the Caesarean Sallust in the Jugurtha. Still, Marius the leader of the *populares,* Marius the terrible avenger of his own exile, is finally condemned; cf. *Tusc.* V. 56: *Talis viri* (*Catuli*) *interitu sex suos obruit consulatus et contaminavit extremum tempus aetatis.* Marius' opposition to Metellus Numidicus is severely treated: *factus est ille quidem consul, sed a fide*

[1] *Font.* 43; *Verr.* II. 5, 181; *Cat.* IV. 21; *Rab. Perduell.* 27; *de imper. Cn. Pomp.* 60; *Sest.* 37; *Prov. Consul.* 32.

*iustitiaque discessit*, says Cicero. (*Off.* III. 79.) Sulla is treated more severely, not because he favored the conservative interest, but because, in settling the government in 82–81 B.C., he resorted to violence and usurpation, set up a personal government, and became an autocrat. And so Cicero in the very year 44 B.C., when his mind was embittered at the mere idea of autocratic power—past and present—wrote: *Post Sullae victoriam . . . desitum est videri quidquam in socios iniquum, cum extitisset in cives tanta crudelitas* (*Off.* II. 26). And again: *Sullani regni* (*Att.* VIII. 11, 2). Further: *L. Sulla, homo a populi causa remotissimus, odium habuit in equestrem ordinem* (*pro Cluent.* 151). *Tum sine dubio habuit regalem potestatem quamquam rempublicam recuperavit* (*de Harusp. Respons.* 54). He coupled Sulla with Caesar later on: Sulla, Cinna, Caesar—*hi tres post civitatem a L. Bruto liberatam plus potuerunt quam universa respublica* (*Phil.* V. 17).[1]

The entire treatise *de Legibus*—with the political statutes cast in the venerable garb of archaic language—shows the unvarying admiration with which Cicero contemplated the old constitution. Though the orator had suffered much in his own political career and personal fate from *tribuni plebis* like Clodius, he insists (*Legg.* III. 23 sq.) that the tribunate is a necessary and wholesome part of the political system, being intended to provide the blind efforts of the masses with visible leadership, and thus with responsibility. The original concession was beneficent, for it brought about a sense of equity and of equality with the governing class. The Plebs had a

[1] In May, 44, Cicero was requested (*Att.* XV. 1, b) to revise Brutus's *Contio Capitolina* of March 15, obviously for the purpose of publication. It seems probable that, though Cicero declined the task, Brutus nevertheless published it before sailing for the East. Appian, *B. C.* II. 137–141, produces what purports to be the main points of this speech: Brutus identifies the personal policy of Sulla and of Caesar in establishing colonies of veterans as permanent bulwarks of the personal security of these military leaders, designating them both as οἱ τύραννοι. Sulla was abominated by other Republicans besides Cicero, as it would seem.

right to a freedom which should be not merely verbal, but actual and real. The restoration of the Tribunate by Pompey in 70 B.C. was proper and a political necessity. On the other hand, Cicero entirely disapproved of those reforms which made for a secret ballot—the *leges tabellariae.*[1] And still the Optimates were indirectly responsible: for, *oppressus dominatu ac potentia principum flagitavit.*

All this, then, we urge, is the voice of the conservative scholar who candidly reviews the political history of his commonwealth without yielding himself up to the narrowness of blind partisanship. If Cicero had been the weathercock we are told by Mommsen and his followers he was, would he not promptly have worshipped the rising sun of Caesar's domination? Curio sold himself to Caesar for an enormous sum. What would the adroit politician have paid for the most powerful tongue, for the most trenchant pen, of that entire generation! Cicero deliberately refused to become a Caesarean, and followed Pompey, although he was convinced that Pompey was doomed. Political weathercocks act otherwise.

Throughout, Cicero was wedded to the theory of the primacy of the Senate: the theory of *noblesse oblige* was among his moral and political ideals.[2] He knows keenly and says, as early as 57–56 B.C., that autocratic government must follow upon the collapse of the conservatives (*de Harusp. Resp.* 54). The *real autonomy of the Senate* is the burden of his political thought—the Senate, ever replenished from the worthiest elements of the State through the elevation granted by the electorate (*pro Sest.* 138; cf. *in Pisonem,* 7).

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[1] *Legg.* III. 34: *quis non sentit omnem auctoritatem optimatium tabellariam legem abstulisse.*

[2] *Pro Sestio,* 21: *utile est reipublicae nobiles homines esse dignos maioribus. Ib.* 42: *Senatum sine quo civitas stare non posset.* Cf. his luminous discussion of *optimates* and *populares, ib.* 96: he charges the conservatives with striving to maintain *otium etiam sine dignitate, ib.* 100.

Cicero, then, was so far from being a political weathercock that he was one of a small number of men in public life who remained faithful to noble and worthy political ideals. That he failed in the end, as Demosthenes failed, does not render him deserving of obloquy or condemnation. The discernment of the inevitable is often denied to men struggling in the dust and heat of political contention. Admiration for the strongest currents, for the strongest forces and factors in any given phase of political history, is far from being the worthiest position for the student of history or human life. A nobler standard of political morality may be found in Cicero's own words: *mihi cui semper ita persuasum fuit, non eventis sed factis cuiusque fortunam ponderari* (*in Pisonem*, 98). Julius Caesar began the civil war with the senate in the winter 50–49 as the pretended defender of democratic constitutional rights, of the sanctity of tribunician intercession. In the brief space of five years he had reached a point of almost more than Oriental despotism, when he accepted in swift succession awards of more than human honors, and a worship so abject that it could not have deceived a character so well balanced as e.g. that of an Augustus, a Tiberius, or a Vespasian. See the list of these honors in Dio Cassius, XLIV. 4 sq., each batch outdoing the preceding. Among them were: annual public prayer for him, the oath by his fortune, quadriennial games as in honor of a demigod, a Julian brotherhood of worshippers, his gilded chair to be placed at games, he to be *Iuppiter Iulius* outright, a temple to be built to him and to his *Clementia*. All of which was but the logical sequence of the worship of successful force, and of pagan man-worship. The condemnation of Caesar's political intoxication followed after Actium, when his heir established the senate formally as co-regent (Mommsen's Dyarchie).

Cicero's bitterness against Antony can only be understood when we reflect on the fact (incessantly repeated in

Cicero's correspondence of April and May, 44) that he saw in Antony mainly the successor to Caesar's autocratic system without any of the relieving features of Caesar's superior personality and gracious qualities. The last decades have been prolific in books and treatises revealing the current of reaction against Mommsen, e.g. Zielinski (*Cicero im Wechsel der Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig, 1896) regards Cicero as one of the great and imperishable names and forces of the world's literature; E. Hübner (*Cicero*, Deutsche Rundschau, April, 1898) does not name Mommsen directly, but says of Mommsen's precursor (p. 10): 'In nearly thirteen hundred closely printed pages Drumann has . . . subjected Cicero's life, acts, and words to a trial which, in inquisitorial harshness, finical casuistry, brutal inconsiderateness, may be recommended to every district attorney as a warning example.'—Max Schneidewin's *Die Antike Humanität*, Berlin, 1897, is a book of much insight and fervor, which uses very largely Cicero's *de Oratore* as the text-book from which to draw his deductions.

The various publications of O. E. Schmidt are all quotable in this connection, particularly the preliminary discourse prefixed to his edition of Cicero's correspondence from 51–44 B.C.: '*Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero von seinem Proconsulat in Cilicien bis zu Caesar's Ermordung*,' Leipzig, 1893 (see particularly p. 22, pp. 66, 67). Also J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*, New York, 1898, p. 377. R. Y. Tyrrell's Historical Introductions prefixed to the various sections of his edition of Cicero's correspondence are all luminous and suggestive, and utterly free from Mommsenism.

Benedictus Niese's *Grundriss der Röm. Geschichte*, Munich, 1897 (in Iwan von Müller's Handbuch), is entirely dominated by Mommsen's ideas (see p. 141). Leopold von Ranke, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, vol. 2, 1882, pt. 2, says, with much more discernment (p. 202): 'He [Cicero] always energetically opposed the acts of violence of infa-

mous officials: at the same time, he was far from separating himself from the Senate.' Of the Philippics, Ranke says, p. 339: 'At their [sc. the Constitutionalists] head appears Cicero, who then once more attained to a position never to be forgotten in history.'

### 4. Art and Structure of the Second Philippic

§ 1. Of all the great orators of antiquity none has so equally excelled both in theory and in practice as Cicero. His *de Oratore* is a work which in a measure may be actually conceived as a mirror of the best elements of ancient culture no less than as a storehouse of minute and psychologically penetrating precepts of oratory. Of the petty detail, indeed, of current τέχνη, Cicero says as little as possible. It is the statesman, the leader of the Roman bar, the foremost man of letters, who speaks from the pages of this treatise.[1]

§ 2. The Second Philippic in form was a *sententia*, i.e. a speech delivered in open debate in the Senate, although not leading up to, or ending in, a formal motion, as e.g. *Phil.* XIV. 36, XIII. 50, X. 25, etc. It is an invective provoked by Antony's attack of September 19. We would waste our efforts were we to try to trace the normal parts of a court-speech, viz., *prooemium, narratio, probatio, refutatio, peroratio* (*Quint.* III. 9, 1). If, again, we were to consider with the ancient τεχνογράφοι the question of *status*, i.e. the general point which is to be established, we have

[1] The valuable work of Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, groups together the main data of ancient tradition concerning Cicero's style, without, however, any signal contribution of new light; it would have been interesting to have explained the radical departure of Sallust from Cicero's manner. As for Marx's idea that the *raison d'être* of the *de Oratore* was the desire of Cicero to oppose the professional rhetoricians of his day, that the choice of Crassus as chief interlocutor was due to the fact that the latter as Censor removed the Latin rhetores from Rome, this presentation impresses me as artificial and far-fetched. Cicero simply selected the chief ideal of his own youth as the chief interlocutor, and put in his mouth the best part of his own theories, which, with the autobiographical element of the *Brutus* (305–329), constitute the most important part of Cicero's rhetorical treatises.

not to do with the question of fact (*status coniecturalis*) nor of law and the interpretation of statutes (*status legitimus*), but, perhaps, with the *status qualitatis*. The well-established facts of Cicero's attitude towards Antony are placed in a certain light in the first part; the facts of the entire career of Antony are placed in a certain light in the second part. Again, the speech does not belong to the academic or purely declamatory, the *genus demonstrationum* (ἐπιδεικτικόν); it may, indeed, be said to belong to the general class which Quintilian designates as '*de Laude et Vituperatione*' (III. 7, 1), except that it deals with the living, not, as Caesar's *Anti-Cato* (Quint. III. 7, 28), with the dead. It has many general points of resemblance to the *in Pisonem*, and, probably, to the lost speech *in Clodium et Curionem.* In the case of the former, Cicero's range of abusive epithets applied to Caesar's father-in-law (who, with Gabinius, made the political bargain with Clodius insuring Cicero's exile) is much more extensive than that directed against Caesar's successor.[1]

§ 3. Some points of the theory of invective may be drawn from Cicero's theoretical books; the power of invective belongs to the full equipment of the orator.[2]

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[1] Cf. *in Pisonem* (the §§ are appended): *belua*, 1; *tua lutulenta vitia*, 1; *hac peste atquelabe*, 3; *furia*, 8; *importuna belua*, 8; *a fatali portento prodigioque reipublicae*, 9; *carnufex*, 11; *caenum*, 13; *furcifer*, 14; *istius pecudis ac putidae carnis*, 19; *ab hoc eiecto cadavere*, 19; *cum illo bustuario gladiatore*, 19; *helluo*, 22; *Clodiane canis*, 23; *lutulente Caesonine*, 27; *immanissimum ac foedissimum monstrum*, 31; *Epicure noster ex hara productus*, 37; *volturius illius provinciae*, 38; *ille gurges atque helluo*, 41; *geminae voragines scopulique reipublicae*, 41; *o scelus, o pestis, o labes!* 56; *praedo amentissime*, 57; *homullus, ex argilla et luto fictus Epicurus*, 59; *admissarius iste*, 69; *istius impurissimae pecudis caeno et sordibus* 72; *hostis ac proditor*, 78; *abiectum hoc cadaver*, 82.

[2] *De Orat.* I. 202: *qui scelus fraudemque nocentis possit dicendo subicere odio civium*, and *de Orat.* I. 221: *Orator . . . omnia haec quae putantur in communi vitae consuetudine mala ac molesta ac fugienda, multo maiora et acerbiora verbis facit.* Among the most powerful factors in the hearers is *invidia* (II. 209). Things tinged with vileness (*subturpia*) must be brought out vividly and strikingly (II. 264). As a rule, the precepts for praise or vituperation were understood to refer to the abstract or academic exercises (III. 109). *Obiurgatio* is named among the *lumina sententiarum* (σχήματα διανοίας). It is clear that of the three types of oratory—the *oratio plenior*, *tenuior*, and *illa mediocris* (III. 212)—this powerful invective would

§ 4. Cicero often designates the conscious manipulation of style and manner as *ornare orationem*, which, by the way, is not *adornment* in our sense, but in reality much the same as the effective *arrangement* of words (*ornare*, [from *ord'nare, ordinare*] *ordo*); he speaks of the *veteres qui ornare nondum poterant* (*de Orat.* III. 39) and of *amplificare rem ornando* (III. 104); prose structure is designated as *continuata verba* as over against *singula verba* (III. 149). (Cf. *continuatio verborum*, III. 171.) There must be variation, not monotony of pitch and movement, as in music too.[1]

And this variation of pitch and force is very palpable in our speech. It is so, specifically, in the transition from elaborate and forceful periods to individual, short, terse, concise clauses: from *ambitus* (or *circuitus* or *orbis, comprehensio, continuatio, circumscriptio*) to *membrum* (κῶλον) or *incisum* (κόμμα). This may well be tested by practical elocutionary exercise and observation. Few periods in the Second Philippic will be found to extend beyond four membra.[2] The splendid survey of Caesar's career (§ 116) is one of the longest periods (cf. also § 35).

The voluminous and elaborate period is particularly appropriate in the *peroratio*.[3]

The force of these briefer and brief units is the impression of candor, straightforward simplicity, fairness, dispassionate statement. Bitter innuendo, too, is often thus conveyed, e.g. § 44: *Patris, inquies, ista culpa est. Concedo. Etenim est pietatis plena defensio.* Such variation,

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generally be assigned to the first, with certain modifications of pitch and tone, as we shall presently see.

[1] *De Orat.* III. 102: *neque id actores prius viderunt quam ipsi poetae, quam denique illi etiam qui fecerunt modos, a quibus utrisque submittitur aliquid, deinde augetur, extenuatur, inflatur, variatur, distinguitur.*

[2] In *de Orat.* III. 190, Cicero says: *neque semper utendum est perpetuitate et quasi conversione verborum* (periods) *sed saepe carpenda membris minutioribus oratio est;* and similarly in the *Orator*, 211.

[3] Cf. *Orator*, 211: *Haec autem forma retinenda non diu est . . . in orationis reliquis partibus; transferenda tota dictio est ad illa quae nescio cur cum Graeci κόμματα et κῶλα nominent, nos non recte incisa et membra dicamus.*

by way of single clauses (κῶλα) and phrases (κόμματα), may be found in §§ 36, 41, 44, 50, 56, 59, 61, 70, 72, 74, 82, 85, 88, 99, 101, 110.

§ 5. Again we find another form of structure, that of *antithesis*, which Cicero learned from Isocrates, though he did not essay the almost mechanical responsion of the latter. (Cf. Blass, *Isocrates*, p. 194; Cicero, *Brutus*, 33.) This figure, however, is very moderately employed, and few things are a stronger evidence of the conscious art in Cicero's composition. Cf. § 52: *Cum te neque principes civitatis rogando, neque maiores natu monendo, neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuit?* § 55: *Doletis tris exercitus populi Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos civis: afflixit Antonius.* Again, § 18: *Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena affectum querebare. Ita quod proprie meum est, laudasti; quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti.* Other cases occur in §§ 1, 7, 9, 10, 20, 21, 27, 33, 34, 37, 42, 50, 51, 56, 57, 59, 62, 81, 91, 100, 117, 118.

§ 6. The force of emphatic *position* is often made manifest, particularly in the use of chiastic order, e.g. § 15: *Tuus* videlicet *salutaris* consulatus, *perniciosus meus.* 18: An verebare ne non putaremus *natura* te potuisse tam improbum evadere nisi accessisset etiam *disciplina?* 23: *Stulti* erat sperare: suadere *impudentis.* 29: *Aliis* occasio defuit: voluntas *nemini.* 49: Postea sum *cultus* a te, tu a me *observatus.* 67: Domus erat aleatoribus *referta, plena* ebriorum. 75: *Consilium* a primo reprehendum, laudanda *constantia.* 94: Haec *vivos* eripuit: reddit *mortuos.* 111: Te omnia *quaestu* tuo, non illius *dignitate* metiri.—Deliberate and forceful is also the final position of *Antonius* in § 2, of *maior* in § 32.

§ 7. An earmark of Cicero's current style (*omni copia dicendi dilatare de Orat.* II. 109; *abundanter,* III. 53) are his *doublets.* Cf. § 4: *o incredibilem audaciam, o impudentiam*

*praedicandam!* 7: *in medium protulit palamque recitavit.* 10: *moderationem modestiamque.* 18: *disiuncta atque contraria.* 23: *facere enitique.* 31: *sapiens et considerate.* 33: *expulsos et relegatos.* 37: *indoctus ignarusque rerum.* 43: *emendatore et correctore;* ib. *vitiorum peccatorumque.* 46: *patris iure et potestate.* 51: *venditum atque emancipatum.* 52: *deleri et everti;* ib. *vendita atque addicta.* 56: *vi et armis.* 69: *parietum ipsorum atque tectorum.* 72: *aequa et iusta.* 85: *meditatum et cogitatum;* ib.: *ferre et pati.* 91: *vi manuque.* 113: *eripiet et extorquebit.*

§ 8. The strongest pitch of emotion, the πάθος element specifically, is that form of structure which we may call 'anaphoric accumulation,' the emotional force being really measurable by the number of units which succeed each other. Of all the specific elements of structure this is the most striking, and may be called the dominating one. Those with few members do not rise much above mere *ubertas;* e.g. § 2: *quid enim plenius, quid uberius,* etc. The *acrimonia* of the speaker rises with the number of units, as in § 3: An ego *non venirem* contra alienum pro familiari et necessario? *non venirem* contra gratiam non virtutis spe sed flore aetatis collectam? *non venirem* contra iniuriam, etc., etc. Particularly forceful is § 35: tibi tamen praecipere, *qui* non modo non servis, sed regnas; *qui* maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti; *qui* per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti; *ad quem* e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt; *cuius* domi, etc. (πολύπτωτον also). In 72 there is a structure of 3+4 units: *ego* ad illum belli civilis causam attuli; *ego* leges perniciosas rogavi; *ego* arma *contra* consules imperatoresque populi Romani, *contra* senatum populumque Romanum, *contra* deos patrios, arasque et focos, *contra* patriam tuli. Others in §§ 7, 12, 14, 16, 19, 27, 31, 32, 33, 39, 42, 45, 50, 54, 57, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 86, 88, 91, 97, 103, 105, 110.

§ 9. Still another device of forcefulness (δείνωσις), a specific form of *amplificatio*, as Quintilian classifies it (VIII. 4, 26), we may call accumulation, not of symmetrical clauses, but chiefly of matter in swift asyndetic enumeration, *congeries* (see Ernesti). Cf. § 9: *non plenum humanitatis, officii, benivolentiae.* 15: *o impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non ferendam!* 17: *urbem inflammare, civis trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rempublicam.* 24: *pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti;* ib.: *tu tuis flagitiis egestate infamia concidisses.* 35: *agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatium, vectigalium flagitiosissimae nundinae.* Also 50, 53, 54, 63; 71: *cuius tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius.* 79: *qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus.* 94: *compellarat—computarat—imperarat—collocarat—abstulerat.* 104: *sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator arcebit.* 105: *versonabant . . . natabant . . . madebant.* 107: *studio, iudicio, benivolentia, caritate.*

It may be pertinent to append here, in conclusion, for the younger students of this little volume, the judgment of Quintilian, the most faithful and searching student, a judgment in which Demosthenes and Cicero serve one as the foil of the other. *Instit. Orat.* X. 1, 105: quorum ego virtutes plerasque arbitror similes, consilium, ordinem, dividendi, praeparandi, probandi rationem, omnia denique quae sunt *inventionis.* In *eloquendo* est aliqua diversitas: densior ille, hic copiosior, ille concludit adstrictius, hic latius, pugnat ille acumine semper, hic frequenter et pondere, illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil addi, curae plus in illo, in hoc naturae. Tacitus, *Dialogus,* 25, remarks: adstrictior Calvus, numerosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, *vehementior* et *plenior* et *valentior* Cicero.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

# IN M. ANTONIUM ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA

*Antony's resemblance to Clodius and Catiline. Antony's challenge taken up by Cicero.*

I. 1. Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec vero necesse est quemquam a me nominari; vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus, quam optaram, dederunt; te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar; nemo enim illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius, omnes a me rei publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere, ultro me maledictis lacessisti tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad impios civis fore putavisti. 2. Quid putem? contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius mihi quid uberius quam et pro me et contra Antonium dicere? Illud profecto [est]: non existimavit sui similibus probari posse se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus.

**3.** Cui priusquam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen iudico, pauca dicam.

*Did Cicero commit a breach of friendship? Was he ungrateful to Antony? Did he, on September 2, 44, deal otherwise with the latter than justly and moderately?*

II. Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario, non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, sed aetatis flore collectam, non venirem contra iniuriam, quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio optinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, uti te infimo ordini commendares, cum omnes *te* recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadi, libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras (nam ita dixisti), domum meam ventitabas. Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consuluisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset. **4.** Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam, o impudentiam praedicandum! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt (nec enim licebat a pluribus nominari), tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo nisi eversa re publica fore incolumem putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset, aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cuius etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent.

III. **5.** At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? Quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper prae me tuli; malui me tibi debere confiteri quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisi non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis princi-

patum, salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numquam, qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfectum *me* a te quam miserum te id impune facere potuisse. 6. Sed sit beneficium, quandoquidem maius accipi a latrone nullum potuit; in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querella misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria quid est dictum a me cum contumelia, quid non moderate, quid non amice? Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem abstinere maledictis! praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas, quae numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere, cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnis impuritates pudica in domo cotidie susciperes vino lustrisque confectus. 7. At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multae iam et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam, ut intellegat, quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit.

*Antony's action in making public (on September 19) a private letter of Cicero to himself.*

IV. At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo urba-

norum hominum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur, quam multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda! **8.** Sit hoc inhumanitatis [tuae]; stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes, quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Mustelae iam esse et Tironi Numisio videris? Qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus. Sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras misisse, quo me teste convincas? An chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat. **9.** Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis quam id obicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progredi non possit, qui obiecerit? At ego non nego teque in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod scribam tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam; quibus petis, ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exilio reducere, adiurasque id te invito me non esse facturum. Idque a me impetrasti. Quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae, quam neque auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio populi Romani neque leges ullae possent coërcere? **10.** Verum tamen quid erat, quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla esse poterat lege lata.

*General plan of the discourse. Antony's strictures on Cicero's consulate. Suppression of Catilinarian conspiracy.—P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, stepfather of Antony. Cicero's poetry on his own achievements.*

V. Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis, ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam, ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiatis. Simul illud oro, si meam cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, ne me hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem; ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel quod ita factus est; ego sine ulla controversia consularis. **11.** Ut igitur intellegeretis, qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapientiaque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem, meum consulatum praeter te Publiumque Clodium qui vituperaret, inventus est? cuius quidem tibi fatum sicut C. Curioni manet, quoniam id domi tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale.

**12.** Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime est mortuus, placuit Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas, placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni, C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenae, qui tum erant consules designati, placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni; qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum quod te consulem non vidit. Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius

probavit, qui ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, conplexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret acceptam.

VI. **13.** Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus iis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque cunctus adsensus est, qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. **14.** L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere, vitrici te similem quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego alienus consiliis consul tum usus sum, tu sororis filius ecquid ad eum umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert? di immortales! Ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam dies natales audiendi sunt. **15.** Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? Dat nataliciam in hortis. Cui? Neminem nominabo; putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam, o impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem singularem tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re publica nihil referas, referas ad eos, qui suam rem nullam habent, tuam exhauriunt? Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus. VII. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, consulebam, tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocavisti? **16.** At etiam ausus es (quid autem est, quod tu non

audeas ?) clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta fierent, vim adferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt (nihil enim boni nosti) sive sunt, qui apud talis viros tam impudenter loquare ? Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit, quis nomen non dedit ? quamquam nec scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt. **17.** Etenim, cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio confiterentur consciorum indiciis, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse, quis esset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur, praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem, quod illis accidit, contigisset ? Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem Clodius dixit umquam ; cui quia iure inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis eum esse superatum. **18.** Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam nostram te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum ? An verebare, ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina ? VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime disiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum quanta tibi tecum esset contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena adfectum querebare. Ita, quod proprie meum est, laudasti, quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti. Nam comprehensio sontium mea, animadversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. **19.** Iam illud cuius est non dico audaciae (cupit enim se audacem), sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnis, clivi Capitolini men-

tionem facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati, cum in hac cella Concordiae, di immortales! in qua me consule salutares sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines collocati stent? Accusa senatum, accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit, accusa omnis ordines, omnis cives, dum confiteare hunc ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ityraeis circumsederi. Haec tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed quia tantam rerum repugnantiam non vides. Nihil profecto sapis! Quid est enim dementius quam, cum rei publicae perniciosa arma ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria? **20.** At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di boni, non decebat! In quo est tua culpa non nulla. Aliquid enim salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti. 'Cedant arma togae.' Quid? tum nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaeramus igitur, utrum melius fuerit, libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo; tantum dicam breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras nosse, me nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse et tamen omni genere monimentorum meorum perfecisse, ut meae vigiliae meaeque litterae et iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid adferrent. Sed haec non huius temporis; maiora videamus.

*Was Cicero responsible for the assassination of Clodius?*

IX. **21.** P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cum tu illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es negotiumque transegisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset iisque oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit, quam quisquam eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is

animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse rei publicae sine suasore non posset. At laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat? **22.** Quamquam de morte Clodi fuit quaestio non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta (quid enim attinebat nova lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio constituta?), quaesitum est tamen. Quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres?

*Was Cicero responsible for the estrangement between Caesar and Pompey, and thus for the civil war?*

**23.** Quod vero dicere ausus es, idque multis verbis, opera mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti. X. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule nihil praetermisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit. Ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere impudentis. **24.** Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes, unum, ne quinquennii imperium Caesari prorogaret, alterum, ne pateretur ferri, ut absentis eius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnis et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium, pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam diremisses! Fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae.' Haec

mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt. Quae si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.

*Was Cicero the author of the plot to slay Caesar? Was he a fellow-conspirator with the assassins?*

XI. **25.** Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesarem meo consilio interfectum. Iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod turpissimum est, praevaricatorem mihi adposuisse videar, qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit? Cuius autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum? Occultatum dico? cuius non statim divolgatum? Citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos, ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur, cum conscii non fuissent, quam ut quisquam celari vellet, qui fuisset. **26.** Quam veri simile porro est in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adulescentibus neminem occultantibus meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim, si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis actoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem cotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis et foris potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius in ea familia natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit; qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam navis appulisset. **27.** Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis ad reciperandam libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam maiorem ei res publica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae praeposuit depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit.

An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quam facturum putavi, admiratus autem ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriae fuisset. Quid? duos Servilios—Cascas dicam an Ahalas? et hos auctoritate mea censes excitatos potius quam caritate rei publicae? Longum est persequi ceteros, idque rei publicae praeclarum, fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.

XII. 28. At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. 'Caesare interfecto,' inquit, 'statim cruentum alte extollens Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus.' Cur mihi potissimum? quia sciebam? Vide, ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se aemulum mearum laudium extitisse. 29. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intellegis, si, id quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem crimen sit, etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum, voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur exceptis iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit? Omnes ergo in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Caesarem occiderunt; aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit, voluntas nemini. 30. Sed stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite. Sic enim dixit: 'Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit; ex quo intellegi debet eum conscium fuisse.' Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris; ille, qui stillantem prae se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto, sit in verbis tuis hic stupor; quanto in rebus sententiisque maior! Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassi, Cn. Domiti, C. Treboni, reliquorum quam velis esse causam; edormi

crapulam, inquam, et exhala. An faces admovendae sunt, quae [te] excitent tantae causae indormientem? Numquamne intelleges statuendum tibi esse, utrum illi, qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidae sint an vindices libertatis? XIII. **31.** Attende enim paulisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis punctum temporis suscipe. Ego, qui sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quicquam esse medium; confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani conservatoresque rei publicae sint, plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse, siquidem est atrocius patriae parentem quam suum occidere. Tu homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidas, cur honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum semper appellati? cur M. Brutus referente te legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies afuisset? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur provinciae Bruto, Cassio datae, cur quaestores additi, cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atqui haec acta per te. Non igitur homicidas. Sequitur, ut liberatores tuo iudicio, quandoquidem tertium nihil potest esse. **32.** Quid est? num conturbo te? Non enim fortasse satis, quae diiunctius dicuntur, intellegis. Sed tamen haec summa est conclusionis meae, quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos, ut, si qui forte, quod a te mihi obiectum est, quaerent sitne verum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor, ne aut celatum me illis ipsis non honestum aut invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta maior, quae gloriosior, quae commendatior hominum memoriae sempiternae? In huius me tu consilii societatem tamquam in equum Troianum cum principibus includis? non recuso, ago etiam gratias quoquo animo facis. **33.** Tanta enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis conci-

tare, cum laude non comparem. Quid enim beatius illis, quos tu expulsos a te praedicas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, cum accesserint, non adfari atque adpetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cum eos aspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent? quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae litterae reperientur, quae eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu vero adscribe me talem in numerum.

XIV. **34.** Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes. Si enim fuissem, non solum regem, sed etiam regnum de republica sustulissem et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, mihi crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam confecissem. Quamquam, si interfici Caesarem voluisse crimen est, vide, quaeso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob eius consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem (vide, quam tecum agam non inimice!), quod bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo, quod non indicasti, gratias ago, quod non fecisti, ignosco. Virum res illa quaerebat. **35.** Quodsi te in iudicium quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, 'cui bono' fuerit, vide, quaeso, ne haereas. Quamquam illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant, tibi tamen praecipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas, qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti, qui per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti, ad quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt, cuius domi quaestuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatium, vectigalium flagitiosissimae nundinae. **36.** Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter mortem Caesaris subvenire potuisset? Nescioquid conturbatus esse videris; numquid subtimes, ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur? Libero te metu; nemo credet umquam;

non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auctores; ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus; nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

*The minor charges of Antony taken up. Cicero in Pompey's camp. Cicero's relation to Pompey.*

XV. **37.** Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obiecisti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie iaceres, nos liberi essemus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim me, cum ea, quae acciderunt, providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praestantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consularis, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus; qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua condicione pacis (mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur) rem publicam hodie teneremus. **38.** Quae sententia si valuisset ac non ei maxime mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitissent, ut alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine vel potius numquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea. An ille quemquam plus dilexit, cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit saepius? Quod quidem erat magnum, de summa re publica dissentientis in eadem consuetudine amicitiae permanere. Ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid ego sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati

civium primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille praesenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque, quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. **39.** Quid vero ille singularis vir ac paene divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii, cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. Et eius viri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse fateare? XVI. Sed omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne *de* iocis quidem respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem illa castra plena curae; verum tamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. **40.** Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse moderatum.

*The charge that Cicero received no bequests from friends.*

Hereditates mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui istuc tibi venit in mentem? Ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor iungeretur; te is, quem tu vidisti numquam, L. Rubrius Casinas fecit heredem. **41.** Et quidem vide, quam te amarit is, quem albus aterne fuerit ignoras. Fratris filium praeterit, Q. Fufi, honestissimi equitis Romani suique amicissimi, quem palam heredem semper factitarat, ne nominat quidem; te, quem numquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. 'Nihil scio,' inquies, 'nisi quae praedia habuerit.' *Is* igitur fratrem exhere-

dans te faciebat heredem? In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eiectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esses, invasisti. **42.** Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non adisses.

*Conclusion of the first part. Futility of Antony's rhetorical efforts, in spite of the stupendous recompense made to his teacher from state property.*

XVII. Haec ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies in aliena villa declamasti? Quamquam tu quidem, ut tui familiarissimi dictitant, vini exhalandi, non ingenii acuendi causa declamas. At vero adhibes ioci causa magistrum, suffragio tuo et conpotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti, ut in te, quae vellet, diceret, salsum omnino hominem, sed materia facilis est in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem, quid intersit inter te et avum tuum. Ille sensim dicebat, quod causae prodesset; tu cursim dicis aliena. **43.** At quanta merces rhetori data est? Audite, audite, patres conscripti, et cognoscite rei publicae vulnera. Duo milia iugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori adsignasti, et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime, ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Leontino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros ereptos rei publicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Iam enim, quoniam criminibus eius satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt. Nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decertandum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam; quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.

*Beginning of second part, in which Cicero reviews the life and public career of Antony. Antony's youth.—Curio.*

XVIII. **44.** Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic, opinor; a principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria prae-

textatum te decoxisse? 'Patris,' inquies, 'ista culpa est.' Concedo. Etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus, cum esset lege Roscia decoctoribus certus locus constitutus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum, certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocavit. **45.** Nemo umquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit, quotiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares! cum tu tamen nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede per tegulas demitterere.

Quae flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio maerens iacebat in lecto, filius se ad pedes meos prosternens lacrimans te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens peteret, defenderem; tantum enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exilium iturum. **46.** Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi, ut aes alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adulescentem summa spe et animi et ingenii praeditum rei familiaris facultatibus eumque non modo tua familiaritate, sed etiam congressione patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum per me acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses? XIX. **47.** Sed iam stupra et flagitia omittamus; sunt quaedam, quae honeste non possum dicere; tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quae a verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitae cursum videte; quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim, quae in civili bello in maximis

rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea, quae cotidie facit, festinat animus. Quae peto ut, quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audiatis. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio; etsi incidamus, opinor, media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.

*Antony supported Clodius. Served under Gabinius in Egypt. Goes to Gaul.*

48. Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax, cuius etiam domi iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam, ipse optime intellegit. Inde iter Alexandream contra senatus auctoritatem, contra rem publicam et religiones; sed habebat ducem Gabinium, quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset. Qui tum inde reditus aut qualis? Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Aegypto quam domum. Quae autem domus? Suam enim quisque domum tum optinebat, nec erat usquam tua. Domum dico? quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem poneres praeter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis tamquam Sisaponem tenebas?

*Antony becomes quaestor. Returns to serve under Caesar in Gaul.*

XX. 49. Venisti e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere te prius ad parentem tuam venisse quam ad me. Acceperam iam ante Caesaris litteras, ut mihi satis fieri paterer a te; itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia. Postea sum cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaesturae; quo quidem tempore P. Clodium adprobante populo Romano in foro es conatus occidere, cumque eam rem tua sponte conarere, non inpulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, umquam mihi pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur Milonem inpulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultro mihi idem illud deferentem numquam sim adhortatus. Quamquam, si in eo

perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam. **50.** Quaestor es factus; deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi. Id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum et illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses, si hoc est explere, *haurire,* quod statim effundas, advolasti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.

*Antony as Tribune of the People furnishes Caesar the pretext for beginning the Civil War.*

XXI. Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea, quae ipse in se atque in domesticum decus impure et intemperanter, sed quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est in universam rem publicam, impie ac nefarie fecerit. Ab huius enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. **51.** Nam, cum L. Lentulo C. Marcello consulibus Kalendis Ianuariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetis ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis, tum iste venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei subiecit securi, qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus, et quidem incolumis nondum tot luminibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more maiorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae iudicatus? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen extabit (quod quidem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum), tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur. **52.** Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus adulescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius, neque tu tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem ageba-

tur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles? Cum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuisset, tum illud multis rebus ante temptatis necessario tibi vulnus inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo; **53.** tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus; quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Caesaris contulisses. XXII. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat, quam causam sui dementissimi consilii et facti adferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, ius tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto, quam haec falsa, quam levia, praesertim cum omnino nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare; tibi certe confitendum est causam perniciosissimi belli in persona tua constitisse. **54.** O miserum te, si haec intellegis, miseriorem, si non intellegis hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae prodi, huius rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium saeculorum umquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos cumque iis Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit, omnis consulares, qui per valetudinem exequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent, praetores, praetorios, tribunos pl., magnam partem senatus, omnem subolem iuventutis unoque verbo rem publicam expulsam atque exterminatam suis sedibus! **55.** Ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tris exercitus populi Romani interfectos; interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos civis; eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas huius ordinis adflicta est; adflixit Antonius. Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus (quid autem mali non vidimus?), si recte ratiocinabimur, uni accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Troianis, sic iste

huic rei publicae [belli] causa pestis atque exitii fuit. Reliquae partes tribunatus principii similes. Omnia perfecit, quae senatus salva re publica ne fieri possent effecerat. Cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite.

*Antony steward of Italy during Caesar's absence. Whimsical favoritism. Wantonness of life.*

XXIII. **56.** Restituebat multos calamitosos. In iis patrui nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnis? si misericors, cur non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros; Licinium Denticulum de alea condemnatum, conlusorem suum, restituit; *non* quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret; sed ut, quod in alea perdiderat, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano, cur eum restitui oporteret? Absentem, credo, in reos relatum; rem indicta causa iudicatam; nullum fuisse de alea lege iudicium; vi oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem; ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihilo est, ita ignoscerem. Hominem omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quae est de alea, condemnatum qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissime studium suum ipse profitetur? **57.** In eodem vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam proficiscens huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit eius peragratio itinerum, lustratio municipiorum! Scio me in rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari eaque, quae dico dicturusque sum, notiora esse omnibus, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, qui non fui; notabo tamen singulas res, etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satis facere vestrae scientiae. Etenim quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium extitisse auditum est? tantam turpitudinem, tantum dedecus! XXIV. **58.** Vehebatur in essedo tribunus pl.; lictores laureati antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica mima por-

tabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti obviam necessario prodeuntes non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam consalutabant. Sequebatur raeda cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi; reiecta mater amicam inpuri filii tamquam nurum sequebatur. O miserae mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigiis omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique Italiam inpressit.

*Antony's return from Thessaly. His military power. Kytheris the actress. How he used his power as Magister Equitum.*

**59.** Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilis est sane reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; saturavit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium; felix fuit, si potest ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa et tua (illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem), tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium! potuisse enim fateor. Quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fuerunt, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. **60.** Tanta est enim caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent.

Sed fac id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta; licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec ausurum viderem? XXV. **61.** Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior? Quam miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? Quis enim miles fuit, qui Brundisi illam non viderit? quis, qui nescierit venisse eam tibi tot dierum *iter* obviam gratulatum? quis, qui non indoluerit

tam sero se, quam nequam hominem secutus esset, cognoscere? **62.** Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mima, in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio, in urbe auri, argenti maximeque vini foeda direptio. Accessit, ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandreae, beneficio amicorum eius magister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit se suo iure cum Hippia vivere et equos vectigalis Sergio mimo tradere. Tum sibi non hanc, quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum, ubi habitaret, legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat egestas; quo se verteret, non habebat; nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat; nondum in Cn. Pompei locum multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus heres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

*His excess in drinking.*

**63.** Sed haec, quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus; loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In coetu vero populi Romani negotium publicum gerens magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus gremium suum et totum tribunal inplevit! Sed haec ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus; veniamus ad splendidiora.

*Antony purchases at auction the mansion of Pompey at Rome. What sort of life he led in it.*

XXVI. **64.** Caesar Alexandria se recepit felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur; mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae

sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris bona Cn. Pompei (miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus haeret animo dolor), bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei Magni voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis! Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit, servientibusque animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Expectantibus omnibus, quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent; unus inventus est, qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. **65.** Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnis tibi deos, non omnis homines et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior! XXVII. In eius igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio persona de mimo modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut est apud poetam nescio quem, 'M a l e  p a r t a  m a l e  d i l a b u n t u r.' **66.** Incredibile ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa quam paucis non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica multis locis non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis diebus nihil erat. **67.** Quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdim dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit; Oceanus medius fidius vix videtur tot res tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae totae nequissimis hominibus condonabantur; alia mimi rapiebant, alia mimae; domus erat aleatoribus

referta, plena ebriorum; totos dies potabatur, atque id locis pluribus; suggerebantur etiam saepe (non enim semper iste felix) damna aleatoria; conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse consumpta. Non modo unius patrimonium quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbis et regna celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. At idem aedes etiam et hortos. **68.** O audaciam immanem! tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus es, tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare, tu illarum aedium dis penatibus os inpurissimum ostendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo adspicere sine lacrimis poterat, nemo sine lacrimis praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet, in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse iucundum?

*Cicero dwells on the contrast between the former and the present occupant of Pompey's mansion.*

XXVIII. An tu, illa in vestibulo rostra [spolia] cum adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere. Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, violentus et furens, cum tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem. **69.** Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus, tum domi admirandus neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis. Huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat. Nolite quaerere; frugi factus est; mimulam suam suas res sibi habere iussit, ex duodecim tabulis clavis ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quam pro-

batus! cuius ex omni vita nihil est honestius, quam quod cum mima fecit divortium. **70.** At quam crebro usurpat: 'Et consul et Antonius'! hoc est dicere: et consul et inpudicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius? Nam, si dignitas significaretur in nomine; dixisset, credo, aliquando avus tuus se et consulem et Antonium. Numquam dixit. Dixisset etiam conlega meus, patruus tuus, nisi si tu es solus Antonius.

*Troubles between Caesar and Antony after the campaign of Thapsus, in which Antony did not serve. Nor did he serve at Munda.*

Sed omitto ea peccata, quae non sunt earum partium propria, quibus tu rem publicam vexavisti; ad ipsas tuas partis redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod natum, conflatum, susceptum opera tua est. XXIX. **71.** Cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam, tum propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exsorbueras; fueras in acie Pharsalica antesignanus; L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occideras multosque praeterea, qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar ut non nullos fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis *ac* talibus gestis quid fuit causae, cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Caesarem post eius ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cuius tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas. **72.** Primo respondisti plane ferociter et, ne omnia videar contra te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas: 'A me C. Caesar pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli, ego leges perniciosas rogavi, ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum,

contra deos patrios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis?' Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem? Plus ille poterat. **73.** Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedes tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum, tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod, qui auctionaretur, posset suum dicere! Auctionis vero miserabilis adspectus; vestis Pompei non multa, eaque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa conlisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus quicquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre possemus. **74.** Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubri decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo; quo se verteret, non habebat. Quin eis ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica; de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

XXX. **75.** Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam; sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni, aut, cum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania. Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella, in Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem; sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia. Tu vero quid dices? Cn. Pompei liberi tum primum patriam repetebant. Esto, fuerit haec partium causa communis. Repetebant praeterea deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent

armis ii, quorum erant legibus (etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse aequi?), tamen quem erat aequissimum contra Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare, quem? Te sectorem. **76.** An, cum tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

*How Antony returned from Narbo—to surprise his wife—causing a panic in Rome.*

Qui vero Narbone reditus! Etiam quaerebat, cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris, deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias, quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, e qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurristi. XXXI. **77.** At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperum; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite obvoluto. Ianitor: 'Quis tu?' 'A Marco tabellarius.' Confestim ad eam, cuius causa venerat, [deducitur] eique epistulam tradidit. Quam cum illa legeret flens (erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abiecisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse), cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit, caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! Quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo, ut te Catami-

tum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti? **78.** Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a tribuno pl. cum respondisses te rei tuae causa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis; ad maiora veniamus.

*Antony reconciled to Caesar after Munda. His stubborn effort to defeat the consular election of Dolabella.*

XXXII. C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti ob viam longissime processisti. Celeriter isti, redisti, ut cognosceret te si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum. Factus es ei rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissime recipiebat. **79.** His igitur rebus praeclare commendatus iussus es renuntiari consul, et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror de Dolabella, qui tum est inpulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorat? ille [induxit, ut peteret,] promissum et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit; tu eius perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae; cogimur in senatum; invectus est copiosius multo in istum et paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego. **80.** Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum Caesar ostendisset se, priusquam proficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse iussurum (quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et diceret)—sed cum Caesar ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel inpedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse adseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. **81.** Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii iure facere posse

dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide, ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem. Esto, hoc imperite; nec enim est ab homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia; sed videte inpudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed priusquam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verum inplicata inscientia inpudentia est; nec scit, quod augurem, nec facit quod pudentem decet. **82.** Itaque ex illo die recordamini eius usque ad Idus Martias consulatum. Quis umquam adparitor tam humilis, tam abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat, omnia rogabat, caput in aversam lecticam inserens beneficia, quae venderet, a collega petebat. XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellae comitiorum dies! Sortitio praerogativae; quiescit. Renuntiatur; tacet. Prima classis vocatur, renuntiatur; deinde, ita ut adsolet, suffragia; tum secunda classis vocatur; quae omnia sunt citius facta, quam dixi. **83.** Confecto negotio bonus augur (C. Laelium diceres) 'ALIO DIE' inquit. O inpudentiam singularem! Quid videras, quid senseras, quid audieras? Neque enim te de caelo servasse dixisti nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse provideras et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es auspicia, obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum, augur auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere, quae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur. **84.** Sed adrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum augur iis verbis nuntiat,

quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum 'ALIO DIE' dixeris, sobrium non fuisse; sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit, augur a collega requiro.

*How Antony attempted to place the diadem on Caesar's head at the Lupercalia.*

Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis M. Antoni rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus. XXXIV. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: adparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne [nauseet,] faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris sit tanta merces [id est ubi campus Leontinus appareat]. **85.** Sedebat in rostris conlega tuus amictus toga purpurea in sella aurea coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam, (ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes) diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? Non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed adtuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema inponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plausu reiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es, qui cum auctor regni esses eum*que*, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles, idem temptares, quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset. **86.** At etiam misericordiam captabas; supplex te ad pedes abiciebas quid petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires; a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius, quid foedius, quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiamus? Haec te, si ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor, ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus: Quid indignius quam vivere eum, qui inposuerit diadema, cum omnes fateantur iure interfectum esse, qui abiecerit? **87.** At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis

ad Lupercalia C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse. Iam iam minime miror te otium perturbare, non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem, cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem bibere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius, *Sp.* Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post saeculis a M. Antonio quod fas non est rex Romae constitueretur?

*Antony, the Ides of March, and subsequent days. Antony's short-lived conservatism.*

XXXV. **88.** Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martiis fuit in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: Tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem fortuna rei publicae; num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga, quae formido praeclaro illo die, quae propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae, cum ex illa fuga beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti! **89.** O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui.

Itaque, cum ceteri consulares irent, redirent, in sententia mansi; neque te illo die neque postero vidi neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum inportunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum

omnes aditus armati obsiderent. **90.** Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit? Quamquam mihi inimicus subito extitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invideris. XXXVI. Qui tu vir, di immortales, et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii, inprobum fecit ea, quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia.

*Antony's funeral eulogy of Caesar, followed by a conservative course of action. This again followed by unconstitutional doings.*

Etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti. **91.** Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semustulatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit; tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque reppulimus, in nostras domos inmisisti. Idem tamen quasi fuligine abstersa reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficii figeretur. Meministi ipse, de exulibus, scis, de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti; quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut eius omne nomen propter proximi dictatoris metum tolleres. **92.** Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam. Num igitur me fefellit, aut num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse? Inspectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis; civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque, si haec manent, quae stante re publica manere non possunt, provincias universas,

patres conscripti, perdidistis, neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis nundinis deminutum est.

*Antony's misappropriations of public funds. Antony's fraudulent pretext of acting on the basis of Caesar's papers illustrated in the case of Deiotarus.*

XXXVII. **93.** Ubi est septiens miliens quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen quae nos, si iis, quorum erant, non redderentur, a tributis possent vindicare. Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium, quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quae a tuis emebantur non insciente te, sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro populi Romani amicissimo decretum in Capitolio fixum; quo proposito nemo erat qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. **94.** Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? aeque atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Igitur, a quo vivo nec praesens nec absens rex Deiotarus quicquam aequi boni impetravit, apud mortuum factus est gratiosus. Conpellarat hospitem praesens, conputarat, pecuniam inperarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis collocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam. Haec vivus eripuit, reddit mortuus. **95.** At quibus verbis? Modo aequum sibi videri, modo non iniquum. Mira verborum complexio! At ille numquam (semper enim absenti adfui Deiotaro) quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, aequum dixit videri. Syngrapha sestertii centiens per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaecio est, quo in loco plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha quid sis acturus, meditere censeo. Rex enim ipse sua sponte nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit

eius interitum, suo Marte res suas reciperavit. **96.** Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, ut, quae tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis ii, quibus erepta essent, reciperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicet pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham reciperatae. Non enim a te emit, sed, priusquam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit; nos quidem contemnendi, qui actorem odimus, acta defendimus.

*Forged papers of Caesar's; spoliation of the commonwealth. Treatment of Exiles.*

XXXVIII. **97.** Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quorum etiam institores sunt, qui ea tamquam gladiatorum libellos palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut iam expendantur, non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates locupletissimae Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur statuiturque, ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis [es] conpos, tu non constringendus? An Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum Caesare vivo pertineret? At huius venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis, provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor. **98.** Et de exulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit? Nullius insector calamitatem; tantum queror, primum eorum reditus exaequatos, quorum causam Caesar dissimilem iudicarit; deinde nescio, cur non reliquis idem tribuas; neque enim plus quam tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt.

*How Antony dealt with his uncle, who was also his father-in-law.*

Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tua misericordia non simili fruuntur, cur eos habes in loco patrui? de quo

ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti; quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti eamque petitionem comparasti, quae et risus hominum et querellas moveret. **99.** Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? an quia tribunus pl. sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt, cum *aliorum*, tum fis religiosus. Quid? eundem in septemviratu nonne destituisti? intervenit enim, cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam eius sororem tuam eiecisti alia condicione quaesita et ante prospecta. Non est satis; probri insimulasti pudicissimam feminam. Contentus eo non fuisti; quid est, quod addi possit? frequentissimo senatu Kalendis Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuae stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, inpudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbior, qui in Dolabellam, an inpurior, qui patruo audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris?

*Further remarks on forgery and sale of Caesarian decrees. Wanton gifts by Antony of public land to favorites.*

XXXIX. **100.** Sed ad chirographa redeamus. Quae tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu; quae quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quae egisse Caesarem dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt, quo auctore proferuntur? Si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium, quem umquam convocasti, quas Kalendas Iunias expectasti? an eas, ad quas te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?

O praeclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere

conatus es! Quem ad modum illinc abieris vel potius paene non abieris, scimus. **101.** Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere, ut aliquando illud 'paene' tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio! Quid prandiorum adparatus, quid furiosam vinulentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur, ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicae vulnus putabamus, hunc tu compransoribus tuis et conlusoribus dividebas. Mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos. Quid iam querar de agro Leontino? quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes Campana et Leontina in populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae et fructuosae ferebantur. Medico tria milia iugerum; quid, si te sanasset? rhetori duo; quid, si te disertum facere potuisset?

*Antony's progress through Campania and along the Via Latina: his sojourn in Varro's villa at Casinum. Further demeanor of Antony on the way.*

XL. **102.** Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quo Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisti me per litteras de Capua tu quidem, sed idem de Casilino respondissem, possesne, ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam novam iure deducere. Negavi in eam coloniam, quae esset auspicato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam iure deduci; colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi. Tu autem insolentia elatus omni auspiciorum iure turbato Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres; cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur. **103.** Ab hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Varronis sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem, quo iure, quo ore? 'Eodem,' inquies, 'quo in heredum L. Rubri, quo in heredum L. Turseli praedia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles possessiones.' Et si ab hasta, valeat hasta,

valeant tabulae, modo Caesaris, non tuae, quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti. Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse dicit, quis hastam istius venditionis vidit, quis vocem praeconis audivit? Misisse [te] dicis Alexandream, qui emeret a Caesare; ipsum enim expectare magnum fuit. **104.** Quis vero audivit umquam (nullius autem salus curae pluribus fuit) de fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Quid? si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar, ut redderes, quid satis potest dici de tanta impudentia? Remove gladios parumper illos, quos videmus; iam intelleges aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tuae. Non enim te dominus modo illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator arcebit. XLI. At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime est perbacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera 'quam dispari domino' (quamquam quo modo iste dominus?)—sed tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur! Studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libidinum deversorium. **105.** Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur, quae cogitabantur, quae litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monimenta maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero te inquilino (non enim domino) personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna; admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia. **106.** Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet, ob viam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates; sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid Anagnini? Qui cum essent devii, descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu † sed cum uinus inter omnis constabat neminem esse resalutatum,

praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter poculorum. **107.** Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem studio, iudicio, benivolentia, caritate, non ut te et Basilum vi et armis et alios vestri similes, quos clientis nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse. XLII. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille conlegae tui fuit, cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! Qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea, nescio; metum credo valuisse et arma; conlegam quidem de caelo detraxisti effecistique non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset sui.

*Measures put through by Antony on June 1, with flagrant disregard of laws or Caesar's will.*

**108.** Qui vero inde reditus Romam, quae perturbatio totius urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea dominantem, modo Caesarem regnantem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi nec ita multi. Ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis secuntur, scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem iam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus; Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. **109.** At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam et potius discessu nostro laetatus est statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri sui causa, is leges Caesaris, easque praeclaras, ut rem publicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit, idemque cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis

firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus semper optentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

*Gross inconsistency of Antony in dealing with the memory of Caesar, whose flamen Antony actually is.*

XLIII. **110.** Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens, tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius. Quid igitur cessas? cur non inauguraris? Sume diem, vide, qui te inauguret; conlegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive eo quod Caesaris sacerdos es sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps, num, hodiernus dies qui sit, ignores. Nescis heri quartum in Circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse, ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur? Cur non sumus praetextati? cur honorem Caesaris tua lege datum deseri patimur? an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria contaminari noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque quaque conserva. **111.** Quaeris, placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi vero nihil istorum placet; sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere, cur alia defendas, alia non cures? Nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem? expecto enim eloquentiam tuam. Disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo. Ille numquam nudus est contionatus, tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus. Respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis? Ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse confidas?

*Antony's use of armed forces at session of senate on September* 19, 44. *Antony's speedy fall predicted. Laudatory allusion to Caesar's slayers. They may have imitators.*

XLIV. **112.** Sed praeterita omittamus; hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus saeptus est, cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt, cur valvae Concordiae non patent, cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidii sui causa se facere dicit. Non igitur miliens perire est melius quam in sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istud, mihi crede, praesidium; caritate te et benivolentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis. **113.** Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam salvis nobis! Sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus, ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat; qui ubicumque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum reciperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adulescentis nobilissimos paratos defensores. Quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris, sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. **114.** Quodsi se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni adpetendi sunt necati; hi primum cum gladiis non in

regnum adpetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum est, praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali inmortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.

*Antony lacks all worthy ideals. His course full of defiance and rife with peril. Caesar, too, fell, extraordinary man though he was.*

XLV. **115.** Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique Romani, confer cum hac nundinatione tua tuorumque; tum intelleges, quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit. Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinerosi verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare? Iudicia non metuis, si propter innocentiam, laudo, sin propter vim, non intellegis, qui isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit? **116.** Quodsi non metuis viros fortis egregiosque civis, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctes timere a suis? Nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus, aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat quamvis rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus magno labore, magnis periculis, quod cogitarat, effecerat; muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinxerat; quid multa? attulerat iam liberae civitati

partim metu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi. XLVI. **117.** Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex plurimis malis, quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni extitit, quod didicit iam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas neque intellegis satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? **118.** Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur, neque occasionis tarditas expectabitur.

*Parting admonition. Cicero contemplates the issue with firmness and decision.*

Resipisce, quaeso, aliquando; quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera; mecum, uti voles, redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris, ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adulescens, non deseram senex; contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter optulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. **119.** Etenim, si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mors est perfuncto rebus iis, quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto: unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam (hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest); alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

In the following Commentary occasional references are made to the Grammars of Gildersleeve (G.) and Lane (L.)

# COMMENTARY

**The name 'Philippics.'** In the *de Oratore*, I. 137–159, in the person of Crassus, Cicero gives us an account of the manner in which he formed his style. At the outset he devoted himself to paraphrasing the earlier Latin writers, such as Ennius or Gracchus. But, finding this profitless, he turned soon to the Greek literature, particularly the orators, whom he translated into Latin, with reference especially to the method of expression. In his later years, to solace himself in the midst of distracting cares, he turned his attention to Greek philosophy. His *de optimo genere oratorum* shows how faithfully in his latter career he measured himself by the standard of Demosthenes, whose classicity meant much more to him, both practically and theoretically, than it can possibly mean to any orator of modern civilization. We need, therefore, not be surprised that the idea of calling these speeches 'Philippics' should have occurred first to the orator himself. Brutus, *Ep.* II. 5, 4, said, in the spring, 43 B.C., referring to Philippics V. and X.: *Nunc scilicet hoc expectas dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui maior in his libellis laus contineatur. Iam concedo ut vel Philippici* vocentur, quod tu quadam epistula i o c a n s scripsisti.* The bluntness of the first sentence of this extract is thoroughly consonant with Brutus' character, as is the trace of the patronizing spirit which runs through the whole. On the other hand, the little *vel* means much in the way of praise; and the appropriateness of the title thus recognized has been felt by all subsequent critics.

§ **1. 1. fato**: *mischance; fatum,* used here in a sinister sense, so generally by Cicero, e.g. *de domo*, 145: *in illo paene fato; Sest.* 93: *duo illa rei publicae paene fata; Phil.* III. 35: *fatum extremum rei publicae.* For the thought (*enthymema*), cf. *Balb.* 58: *fuit hoc sive meum sive rei publicae fatum, ut in me unum omnis illa inclinatio communium temporum incumberet.*

**2. his annis viginti**: i.e. counting both ends, for actually there are only nineteen—from 63 to 44 B.C. Cf. *Phil.* XII. 24: *vicesimus annus*

* *Philippici*, like *Panegyricus*, is transferred bodily from the Greek without any thought of the gender: λόγος = *oratio.*

*est cum omnes scelerati me unum petunt.* As to the personal and political idea, Cicero seems to have made this claim on December 5, 63. Cf. Dio Cassius, XLIV. 33: 'neither friendship nor hostility did I ever contract with any man on my own account.' Also *Phil.* XIII. I, 30: *Fatum enim meum est sine re publica nec vinci posse nec vincere—cum dico 'mihi,' senatui dico populoque Romano; Sull.*, 29: *post red. in sen.* 17.

5. **illi**: Catiline, Clodius, (Curio ?).

7. **in aliis**: *in the case of others.* Why did he not say *ceteris?*

9. **rei publicae causa**: this was clearly true in the case of Catiline and the Catilinarians; in that of Clodius an intense antipathy of a personal nature—a noble failing from which the adroit politician Caesar was utterly free—urged Cicero on to throw down the gauntlet. **lacessiti**: Cicero's quarrel with Clodius had been of his own seeking. He had already, before his exile, written *in Clodium et Curionem.*

10. **furiosior**: *more insane. Furiosus* has regularly this sense in the technical language of the civil law.

11. **ultro**: YOU *have thrown down the gauntlet to* ME. As a matter of fact, Antony, in his arrogance, had taken umbrage at Cicero's speech of September 2, 44 B.C., in the Senate, the First Philippic, the moderate and guarded tone of which is well known.

12. **commendationem . . . ad impios civis**: cf. *Phil.* V. 3: *me, cui, dum se civibus impiis commendet, inimicus quam amicus esse maluit; Phil.* XII. 21: *propter acerbissimum omnium in me odium impiorum.*

§ 2. 13. **quid putem,** etc.: quoted by Quintilian, XI. I, 25, as an example, not of *indecora iactatio*, but of *fiducia.*

15. **quid despicere possit Antonius**: *what subject of contempt there could be for an—Antony?* The position of the last word emphasizes the scorn intended. Cf. *Phil.* III. 8: *a cervicibus nostris est depulsus Antonius;* ib. 9: *D. Brutus sceleratum atque impium regnare patietur Antonium.*

17. **bene gestae . . . mihi uni conservatae**: i.e. on December 5, 63 B.C., and even before, through the aid of the Allobroges; cf. *Cat.* III. 15: *quod ceterae* (sc. *supplicationes*) *bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est.* Also *Cat.* IV. 20; *Pis.* 6.

19. **decertare**: *enter the lists for a* DECISIVE *struggle;* cf. Hor., *Carm.* I. 3, 13: *decertantem Aquilonibus Africum.* The force of *de-* is similar to that of Greek κατά- in composition.

22. **sui similibus**: i.e. the *mimi* and *mimae,* and other boon companions of his cups and other pleasures.

§ 3. 24. **priusquam . . . respondeo**: we might expect *respondeam* or *respondero;* but there is one (and only one) clear parallel for this

reading in the orations, viz., *Phil.* I. 11: *prius quam de re publica incipio, pauca querar de hesterna Antonii iniuria.* Of two similar cases in the Philosophical works, that in *Tusc.* II. 38 is from an older tragedian, and that in *Tusc.* IV. 48 from Lucilius. See G. 574–75.

**27. contra rem suam,** etc.: *opposed his private interest.* Cicero was probably acting as *patronus* in a civil case, in which some *tribunus plebis* (indicated by *intercessoris iniquissimi*, below) aided Antony's client or favorite in a way which the administrator of the civil law, the *praetor urbanus*, could never have granted.

**30. aetatis flore,** etc.: Cicero insinuates that this favor was secured by the vilest profligacy.

**32. idcirco . . . uti**: the adverb *idcirco* abounds in Cicero's orations; it is found to be associated with *ut, ne, quod, quia; si* (rarely). It generally precedes the complementary clause, but occasionally follows, as below, §77 (l. 938). (Merguet.)

**33. infimo ordini**: the lowest class, the *libertini*, as the further context plainly implies—a class ever supplemented by the unending process of manumission, and not checked until the *lex Aelia Sentia* was passed 4 A.D., although there also was a tax of five per cent.

**35. A. Fadi libertini hominis**: in a letter to Atticus (*Att.* XVI. II, Nov. 5, 44) Cicero alludes to this passage as containing the bitterest sting in the entire production (not yet published).* Cf. *Phil.* III. 17: *ipse ex libertini filia susceperit liberos.* The slurs on Piso's maternal ancestors of Insubrian Gaul were probably equally telling.

**37. ventitabas**: probably at sixteen or seventeen, soon after the assumption of the *toga virilis*, about 67–66 B.C. Garatoni compares Tac., *Dial.* 34: *apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille . . . deducebatur a patre . . . ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat.* Antony was born about 83 B.C. **ne**: the asseverative particle, *truly.*

**39. per C. Curionem**: *as far as C. Curio was concerned.* As to C. Scribonius Curio, cf. below, §§44–45. This association of profligacy points to Antony's youth, which makes Reid's suggestion in Peskett's edition improbable.

§4. **39. auguratus petitionem**: Cicero shows how baseless was Antony's claim of generosity in this matter on chronological and statutory grounds. In 53 Cicero was a *consularis* of nine years' standing, while Antony had but recently entered on the *cursus honorum.* On the function of the augurs, cf. Cicero, *Legg.* II. 13, and also *Phil.* XIII. 12: *in primis paternum auguratus locum, in quem ego eum, ut, quod a patre*

* I cannot understand why Lange should assign the publication of this speech to October, 44.

*accepi, filio reddam, mea nominatione cooptabo.* The people chose the augurs: the nomination by two of the sitting augurs preceded: their cooptation followed after the popular election. Cicero himself had been chosen to fill the vacancy created by Crassus' death.

**43. Q. Hortensius:** Q. Hortensius Hortalus, 116–50 B.C., Cicero's predecessor in the primacy of Roman oratory, characterized by Cicero with admirable clearness and candor, *Brut.* 301 sqq.

**44. nec solvendo:** *not solvent,* i.e. a bankrupt. This was a current term of civil law, practically equivalent to an adjective. For the Dat. of the Gerund. in this usage, see G. 429, I. Probably an ellipsis is implied in the phrase of the Dative Gerund. or *esse* = *parem esse.*

**46. Poteras autem:** *Further, could you...?*

**47. unam tribum...ferre:** *carry a tribe;* as we say carry a state, a county. Eberhard-Koch curiously adds: 'wie eine Beute'! Merguet finds this technical political phrase eight times in the orations, e.g. *Phil.* XI. 18: *qui...duas...tribus solas tulit.*

**49. de vi:** *for assault.* In Sulla's legislation of 81 B.C., among the specific courts (or *quaestiones*) there was one for the breach of the public peace by assaults on the person, different from the *iniuriae* of the civil law and from the *quaestio de sicariis* of Sulla's own legislation.

§5. **50. At beneficio,** etc.: another allegation of Antony's speech of September 19; Antony claims the merit of having saved Cicero's life in the past after Pharsalus.

**51. semper prae me tuli**; *I always spoke freely to the world.* Cf. *Phil.* I. 11: *cui* (sc. *Antonio*) *sum amicus, idque me nonnullo eius officio debere esse prae me semper tuli.* The element of personal gratitude is strong in the *pro Sestio, pro Murena, pro Archia, pro Flacco, post red. in sen.* etc., etc.

**54. Brundisi:** After the battle of Pharsalus, 48 B.C., Cicero awaited Caesar's decision concerning himself at Brundisium. He himself tells us the issue in *Att.* XI. 7, 2: 'And so Antony kept begging me by letter to pardon him; he couldn't help obeying that letter [of Caesar]. Then I sent L. Lamia to him to explain that Caesar had told Dolabella to write to me to come as soon as possible to Italy: I had come in accordance with that letter. Then Antony made a decree so as to except Laelius and myself by name.'

**56. occideres:** *should have killed?* Potential of the Past; the *idea* is regarded as preposterous. **fac potuisse:** *suppose you had the physical power to do so;* not, however, with the approbation of Caesar. The latter, except in the last months of his life, had a delicate sense of the force of public opinion rarely excelled by any Roman

politician, and knew that the murder of Cicero would have estranged the entire equestrian class and every friend of letters in the peninsula besides.

**60. a quo erant conservati:** among the conspirators the following had been Pompeians: C. Cassius, M. Brutus, Caecilius and his brother Bucilianus; A. Ligarius, Rubrius Ruga, Spurius..., Sextius Naso, Pontius Aquila; the classification in Appian, *B. C.* II. 113, is not accurate.

**63. te abstinueris:** Cicero regularly uses *se abstinere;* also *abstinere manus animosque, cupiditatem aut manus,* particularly *manus.* (Merguet.)

**64. iucundum:** = *quod iuvat,* followed not by *quod,* but by Acc. and Inf.; hence, '*the thought that,*' etc.

**§6. 66. sed sit:** *granted that it be.* **maius...nullum:** the last word carries the emphasis: cf. *Phil.* III. 5: *rem publicam scelere Antoni nullam haberemus.*

**69. in illa querella:** in his speech of September 2, 44 B.C., the First Philippic, the tone of which was very conservative and moderate. *Querella* could refer particularly to the brutal threats of Antony of September 1, 44; cf. *Phil.* I. 11: *pauca querar, de Antoni hesterna iniuria.*

**70. pro hoc gradu:** *dignitas* is a much stronger element of Cicero's later consciousness than *otium;* cf. *Sest.* 98: *neque ullum amplexari otium, quod abhorreat ab dignitate.* Also *Phil.* I. 14: *idcircone nos populus Romanus consulis fecit ut in altissimo gradu dignitatis locati rem publicam pro nihilo haberemus?*

**72. quid non amice:** e.g. the section in *Phil.* I. 2–4.

**74. reliquias rei publicae:** the reference may be to the wasting of Caesar's war-fund in the temple of Ops, §93 (l. 1109); or to the giving up of parts of the empire, provinces like Crete, §97 (l. 1153). **dissipavisses:** *wasted;* from *dis-* and an old verb *supare,* 'to throw'; cf. Festus: *supare significat iacere, et dissipare disicere.* In the orations, Cicero uses this verb with *argentum, bona, copias, fortunas, fructus, patrimonium, pecuniam.* (Merguet.)

**76. omnia essent venalia:** cf. below, §97.

**79. impuritates pudica in domo** (Pompey's): notice the assonance and contrast; cf. §114 (l. 1374): *mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.*

**80. vino lustrisque:** *drinking and debauchery.*

**§7. 81. tamquam...cum M. Crasso:** i.e. with a statesman of assured and undisputed prominence. 'I treat you as considerately as I would e.g. a Crassus.' The political enmity of Crassus began at

least in 64 B.C., if not before; cf. Asconius *in toga cand.* (p. 74, Kiessl. & Schoell): *acerrimi ac potentissimi fuerunt Ciceronis refragatores quod eius in dies civilem crescere dignitatem animadvertebant.* Also Sall., *Cat.* 48, in regard to the investigations as to his complicity in the Catilinarian conspiracy: *Ipsum Crassum ego praedicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.*

**83. gladiatore:** the appellation is symbolic of robust brutality: cf. §63 (l. 753): *ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate.* Clodius is called a gladiator (*post red. in sen.* 18); also Catiline (*Cat.* I. 29).

**84. de homine nihil dixi:** *made no personal remark whatsoever.*

**86. litteras:** this letter of Antony to Cicero and Cicero's reply are preserved, *Att.* XIV. 13, A and B. The time, according to Tyrrell's computation, was about April 20–24, 44 B.C. Antony was very courteous in begging Cicero, out of his good-nature (*bonitas tua*), to offer no objection to the repatriation of Sex. Clodius. However, he did show his teeth also, amid these amenities of polite phrase: *arbitror malle te quietam senectutem et honorificam potius agere quam sollicitam.* In Cicero's answer occur phrases like these: *meum erga te amorem—ut cariorem habeam neminem—me a te liberalissime et honorificentissime tractatum.* It was purely and simply a diplomatic epistle, written at the very time when Cicero was inveighing bitterly to Atticus against the usurpations and forgeries of Antony. **quas me sibi . . . diceret:** Subjunctive by Attraction; cf. below, §60: *quod meminissent;* Caesar, *B. G.* I. 39: *alius alia causa illata quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret.* Cf. also Kraner on Caesar, *B. G.* I. 23: *quod . . . existimarent . . . confiderent.* See G. 630, N. 3 (cf. 541, N. 3); Ellendt-Seyffert's Lat. Gram., 35th ed., p. 206; Schneider on Caesar, *B. G.* I. 39.

**87. vitae communis:** *current social usages of life.*

**93. quam multa ioca:** Cicero's own clever sayings probably had a greater vogue than those of any other man in public life: many were published in his own life-time, and afterwards by his freedman Tiro. Cicero himself resented the fashion of fathering upon him every *bon mot* of this kind: cf. *Fam.* VII. 32, 1; XV. 21, 2; IX. 16, 4. Quintilian, VI. 3, 5, criticises Tiro's collection for its bulk and the lack of judgment shown in the selection.

§8. **97. homo diserte:** *disertus* refers properly to the faculty of *clear statement* (*dissero*); it is inferior to *eloquens.* Cf. the famous passage in Cicero, *de Or.* I. 94. **ut . . . Tironi videris:** scornful—'in the eyes of the chief bravadoes among your military followers.' On Mustela and Tiro, cf. *Phil.* VIII. 26–27; *Phil.* XII. 14.

**98. cum gladiis:** cf. *Phil.* v. 18 sq. The dramatic fiction of September 19 is maintained by such little touches.

**100. inter sicarios:** *on the charge of murder; inter sicarios* is the designation of that specific court of Sulla's legislation of 81 B.C. established by the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficio;* cf. Madvig: *die Verfassung und Verwaltung des Römischen Staates,* II. 271.

**101. quid opponas . . . si negem:** *supposing I should* (abstractly speaking) *deny;* type of the Ideal Condition. See G. 596; Lane, 2076.

**103. chirographo:** = *manus.* This is a word of Greek parentage, and technically employed by the Jurists also. Elsewhere (*Att.* II. 20, 5) Cicero provided for the contingency of having to deny dictated letters: *non utar meo chirographo neque signo, si modo erunt eiusmodi litterae, quae in alienum incidere nolim.* **scientiam quaestuosam:** Cobet refers to the skill of the emperor Titus, who was an expert both in shorthand and in imitating handwriting; cf. Suetonius, *Titus,* 3: *imitarique chirographa quaecunque vidisset ac saepe profiteri: maximum falsarium esse potuisse.* **qui?** (*adv.*): *how.* It was originally instrumental, *wherewith,* as frequently in Plautus.

**104. librarii manu:** the amanuensis was probably a slave. The *scriba* was of higher rank and always free. **Iam invideo:** *actually I envy,* etc., i.e. 'I have reached a point where I envy.'

**105. iam proferam:** *presently,* i.e. below, §101 (l. 1216). This rhetor was a Sicilian by birth, perhaps a freedman of Clodius. Cf. Suetonius, *de Rhet.* 5: *Sextus Clodius, e Sicilia, Latinae simul Graecaeque eloquentiae professor, male oculatus et dicax par oculorum in amicitia M. Antonii triumviri extrusisse se aiebat; eiusdem uxorem Fulviam cui altera bucca inflatior erat, acumen stili tentare dixit.*

**§9. 108. longius progredi:** *advance any further;* i.e. in that line of proof. Letters belonged to the class of proofs called ἄτεχνον (non-technical) in the language of technical rhetoric, from Aristotle down.

**109. inhumanitatis:** *boorishness* (lack of refinement).

**111. benevolentiae:** *good-will.*

**112. crimen tuum:** the *charge* against Cicero is really that of inconsistency or of hypocrisy: viz., that Cicero could not honestly write in so courteous and friendly a tone on April 20–24, and on September 2 speak against Antony as he did. One critic, Campe, actually took *crimen* in this passage as = *scelus,* and proposed reading *crimen meum* for *crimen tuum!*

**113. quod scribam:** i.e. as you allege; see G. 541.

**115. a te lacessitus:** Cicero was constitutionally sensitive and easily

provoked; cf. *Sull.* 47: *noli hac lenitate nova abuti mea; noli aculeos orationis meae, qui reconditi sunt, excussos arbitrari.*

**116. per me liceat:** *as far as I was concerned*, i.e. 'with no objection on my part.'

**119. quid enim me interponerem:** *for why was I to intervene?* It would have been futile for Cicero to oppose Antony; and such, too, was his own judgment in his confidential communication to Atticus (XIV. 13, 6): *Ego autem Antonio facillimum me praebui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilominus me invito.* Notice the Deliberative Question in the Past.

**120. existimatio populi Romani:** *existimatio* is the closest equivalent to the modern 'public opinion'; cf. *hominum existimatio*, *Verr.*, IV. 101; I. 87; III. 210.

§**10. 123. videlicet:** '*obviously, of course*'; ironical in effect and intention, as the δῆθεν. '*Videlicet* is used whether you *seriously* point to something which is a matter of course, or *ironically* give a wrong explanation with the intention of refuting it at once.'—Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*, II. p. 671. Similarly *scilicet*, §21 (l. 262).

**125. aliquid . . . multa:** the first, the defensive part (§§11–43), about 37 per cent.; the other, the offensive part (§§44–118), about 63 per cent., of the whole.

**130. moderationem modestiamque:** this is hardly correct; for this quality of Horace's *aequam memento*, etc., *in omni vita*, Cicero certainly did not possess; he was prone either to exaltation or depression. But in his oratory everything was done with apparent deliberation. In a certain sense this passage might be called the prelude of the speech proper. As for the alliterative doublet, *m. m.*, cf. *Phil.* IX. 15: *repudiatae reiectaeque; Phil.* XI. 24: *de sanguine et spiritu* (Leib und Leben); XII. 26: *congressum conloquiumque;* XIII. 42: *foedere et fide;* VII. 15: *foedum flagitiosumque.*

**130. cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero:** Cicero knew his own strength in oratory well; of nothing in his long experience since 80 B.C. could he justly feel more secure; cf. e.g. *Planc.* 83: *non vobis videtur cum aliquo declamatore, non cum laboris et fori discipulo.* Also *Cael.* 46; *Rab. Post.* 9. Observe the Temporal *cum.*

**131. oblitum esse putetis mei:** *mei* is emphasized; i.e. his powers as an orator and his political convictions.

**133. ille nullo modo consul:** see Note on §106 (l. 1267); *tamquam si esset consul.*

**134. quod ita rem publicam gerit:** This refers to the usurpations in his consular administration—*because he governs so, so admin-*

*isters the state.* **quod ita factus est**: i.e. through the nomination of the dictator Caesar, not through a free and fair canvass, the election itself being perfunctory. Cf. below, §76 (l. 921): *tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur.*

§11. 136. **obiecit mihi consulatum meum**: particularly the management of the Catilinarian matter. Even after November 28, 44, and when Antony had quitted Rome and had begun the *bellum Mutinense,* he brought the Catilinarian issue forward in his *Edicta;* cf. *Phil.* III. 18: *cum autem illam pulcherrimi facti memoriam refricat, tum a sui similibus invidiam aliquam in me commoveri putat.*

137. **verbo meus . . . re vester**: cf. e.g. *Pis.* 7: *atque ita est a me consulatus peractus, ut nihil sine consilio senatus, nihil non adprobante populo Romano egerim.*

143. **qui vituperaret**: this substantial unanimity is fairly attested by the detailed account of Sallust, the Caesarean.

144. **fatum**: Clodius perished on the Appian Way in January, 52, under the blows of Milo's gladiators. Curio was slain in Africa in 49 B.C.; cf. Caes., *B. C.* II. 42.

145. **id domi tuae est**: the allusion is to Fulvia, and could have been readily understood by the audience. Plutarch (*Antony* 10) thinks that it was Fulvia who really made Antony pliable for the later manipulations of Cleopatra. Cf. Velleius, II. 74: *Fulvia, nihil muliebre praeter corpus gerens.* (She bore two sons to Antony.) *Phil.* V. 11: *Mulier sibi felicior quam viris. Phil.* XIII. 18: *in sinu non modo avarissimae sed etiam crudelissimae uxoris.*

§12. 147. **non placet**, etc.: the adversary's allegation briefly stated, so as to be analyzed by the speaker.

148. **P. Servilio**: P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus was in public life from 100 B.C. on; consul in 79 B.C.; belonged to Sulla's party and distinguished himself as pro-consul in Cilicia, 78, and against the pirates. Cf. *post red. ad Quir.* 17: *P. Servilius opera mea rem publicam incolumem magistratibus deinceps traditam.* He died in this year, 44 B.C., at an advanced age, according to Dio Cassius, XLV. 16.

150. **Q. Catulo**: Catulus was one of the leaders of the senatorial party, opposed to *lex Manilia* in 66 B.C., *curator* of the restoration of the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus; cf. *Pis.* 6: *me Q. Catulus auctor publici consilii, frequentissimo senatu, parentem patriae nominavit;* cf. also *Sest.* 121.

151. **duobus Lucullis**: L. Licinius Lucullus, consul 74 B.C., conducted the war against Mithridates, 74–67 B.C. His favorite retreat was Nesis, near Naples and Misenum. Cf. *Mur.* 20 and 33, *Arch.* 21, and his Life in Plutarch. Marcus Licinius Lucullus (after adoption, Te-

rentius Varro Lucullus), consul 73 B.C., brother of the preceding, was a jurist of distinction and a pontifex. **M. Crasso**: the triumvir of 60 B.C., who perished in the Euphrates campaign, 54 B.C. **C. Curioni**: C. Scribonius Curio, consul 76 B.C., died 53 B.C.; cf. *Att.* I. 16, 13: *consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio ante ἀποθέωσιν vocabat.*

**152. C. Pisoni**: C. Calpurnius Piso, consul 67 B.C., was a bitter enemy of Caesar in 63. Cf. Sall., *Cat.* 49. **M.' Glabrioni**: consul 67 B.C. This is the emendation of Ferrarius for *Labeoni* of MSS. **M.' Lepido, L. Volcatio**: M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Volcatius Tullius were consuls in 66 B.C. The latter, at the beginning of the civil war of 49, joined Caesar. (Garatoni.)

**153. C. Figulo**: C. Marcius Figulus, consul with L. Julius Caesar, 64 B.C., must not be confounded with Cicero's friend, the antiquarian *Nigidius* Figulus. **D. Silano**: Silanus was the first man called upon by Cicero, on December 5, 63 B.C. = February 7, 62 of corrected calendar, for his *sententia.* **L. Murenae**: the man whom Cicero before the expiration of his own consular year defended in a trial for *ambitus* brought by Servius Sulpicius Rufus.—Almost all of these occur in a list of *Att.* XII. 21 (written March 17, 45) of men who voted on December 5, 63 B.C.: 'Catuli, Servilii, Lucullorum, Curionis, Torquati, Lepidi, Gellii, Volcatii, Cottae, L. Caesaris, C. Pisonis, M.' Glabrionis, etiam Silani, Murenae, designatorum consulum.'

**155. providit . . . vidit**: the assonance is intentional; cf. *Mur.* 32: *repressum magna ex parte, non oppressum; Flacc.* 103: *prosint—obsint; Sull.* 12: *delata—prolata; ib.* 47: *amissum—remissum; ib.* 47: *tulisse—rettulisse; ib.* 54: *iniquorum—aequorum; de Dom.* 21: *produxeras . . . subduxeras; ib.* 96: *concidere—occidere;* 123: *aditum—exitum; Har. Resp.* 6: *vinci—vinciri;* 23: *ludos—luctum; festis—funesti; Sest.* 66: *flandae—conflandae; Phil.* III. 22: *ex oratore arator factus sit; Phil.* XII. 14: *cum iis facta pax non erit pax sed pactio servitutis; Phil.* XIII. 24: *cum in gremiis mimarum mentum mentemque deponeres; ib.* 26: *homo diruptus dirutusque.* Now as to the sense of *providit—vidit.* **Providit** = *prudens erat*, i.e. *providentiam adhibuit multis in rebus;* 'he was wise in taking himself out of the subsequent political development of Rome, and particularly in saving himself from the possibility of living to see your consulate' [a *sententia*, cf. Ernesti *Lexicon* s. v. *sententia*].

**157. conplexus et gratulans**: of all the public men of his generation, Pompey was the one to whom Cicero was most strongly attached, even extolling the deceased before the autocrat himself; cf. *Deiot.* 12. **meo beneficio patriam**: cf. *Off.* I. 78: 'a man of exceeding military glory, Cn. Pompey, in the hearing of many, paid me the tribute of

saying that he would have carried off his third triumph in vain if he was not to have, by my service to the state, a place to triumph in.'

**162. referret acceptam**: *credit to*, i.e. *charge to the credit of*, a commercial phrase; also, *acceptum facere, ferre, habere; accepto ferre rationibus; acceptum referre in tabulas*. Cf. Heumann, *Handlexicon zu den Quellen des Römischen Rechts*.

§**13. 164. Qui duo**: not *quorum duo*, as the English would be, for these two are not a part of, but they are the (whole of) living ex-consuls; the Latin phrase is more exact than ours; see G. 370, R. 2.

**165. L. Cotta**: consul 65 B.C.

**167. verbis amplissimis**: *in the broadest terms*, i.e. 'in most flattering language.' Cf. *Cat.* III. 14: *mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur*.

**170. ante me nemini**: Caes., *B. G.* II. 35: *dierum quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli*. The mention of such a distinction by the subject of it is in full accord with Greek and Roman ethics: cf. Cicero, *Cat.* III. 15: *atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit*.

§**14. 172. in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum**: the reference is to Cornelius Lentulus Sura; cf. *Phil.* VIII. 1: *Idem fecerat me consule in sororis viro* (Lentulus is meant) *quod hoc tempore in sororis filio fecit*. *Phil.* XI. 20: *ne refragari homini amicissimo ac de me optime merito videar* (allusion to L. Julius Caesar).

**175. alienus**: in a civil sense, as to family relation: *a non-relative* = *extraneus* in the Jurists.

**177. ad quos refert**: the boon companions of his vulgar and riotous living, probably some of them among the *mali suasores* of *Phil.* I. 8.

§**15. 179. Hodie non descendit**: i.e. it is a current utterance: *Today*, etc.

**180. in hortis**: sc. *Pompeianis*, mentioned also in the *pro Milone*. They were, probably, on the site of modern Monte Pincio, outside of the wall of 44 B.C.

**181. Phormioni alicui**: *a Phormio;* the indefinite pronoun emphasizes the scornfulness of the choice of the name. It is characteristic of Cicero's literary (rather than political) culture that he draws these types from the comedy of Terence and Plautus. *Phormio* is the parasite of Terence's play of that name; cf. *Caecin.* 27: *nec minus niger nec minus confidens quam ille Terentianus est Phormio*. *Gnathoni*, 'Jawbones,' is the parasite in Terence's Eunuchus. Cf. the proper name 'Chew,' in English. (Mr. Martin Masticator.)

**182. Ballioni**: the *leno* in Plautus' *Pseudolus*, a type of brazen impudence. Cicero gives later (*Phil.* XIII. 2–3) a list of Antony's favorites, the most influential leaders who surrounded him: Censorinus, Ventidius, Trebellius, Bestia, Nucula, Munatius, Lento, Saxa. Also these: Volumnius Eutrapelus, Mela, Potius, Caelius Crassicius, Tiro, Mustela, Petusius: *comitatum relinquo, duces nomino*, 2–3.

**188. pudorem cum pudicitia**: a phrase current through alliteration; *pudor* = αἰδώς; *pudicitia, sexual purity*; cf. *Verr.* V. 34: *quod praesidia pudoris et pudicitiae...vi et audacia ceperit.* The former was the general restraining sense and the force of conscience; cf. *Phil.* III. 28: *nihil apparet in eo ingenuum...nihil pudens, nihil pudicum.*

**189. in eo templo**: i.e. of Concordia, in which on December 5, 63 B.C., the Senate under Cicero's presidency determined the punishment of the Catilinarians. This was the most momentous day of Cicero's political life.

**190. florens orbi terrarum praesidebat**: a great part of the ideals as well as of the practical political principles of Cicero rested on the political primacy of the Senate. In *post red. in sen.* 4 he calls the senators *parentes perpetui*, while the consuls are designated as merely *tutores annui*; cf. *Phil.* III. 34: *amplissimi orbis terrae consilii principes vos esse aliquando recordamini*; *Phil.* VII. 19: *summo consilio orbis terrae.*

§**16. 193. clivum Capitolinum**: this act was made much of by Clodius in his attacks upon Cicero; and Fulvia, the former wife of Clodius, may have urged this point with her husband, Antony. Cf. *Sest.* 28: *equites...Romanos daturos illius diei poenas, quo me consule cum gladiis in clivo Capitolino fuissent*; also *post red. in sen.* 32; Sall., *Cat.* 49.

**195. vim adferebam**: = *adlaturus eram* (Halm). The tone is sarcastic.

**197. qui...loquare**: *thou who hast the hardihood to speak.* See L. 1818.

**198. quis praeter te adulescens nobilis**: Antony was, in 63 B.C., about twenty years old.

**201. nomen non dedit**: in the temporary enlistment of forces to secure the safety of Rome. Cicero acted under the *Senatus consultum ultimum*, 'Videant consules,' etc.

§**17. 203. homines nefarii**: viz. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, etc., December 3, 63 B.C. **patriae parricidio**; *high treason*; cf. *Vatin.* 35: *patriae certissimus parricida*; *Dom.* 133: *in patriae parricidio excellere*; *Sull.* 6: *obstrictum esse patriae parricidio.* **confiterentur**: cf. *Cat.* III. 13: *cum illa certissima visa sunt argumenta at-*

*que indicia sceleris, tabellae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque confessio, tum multo certiora illa: color, oculi, voltus, taciturnitas.*

**205. urbem inflammare**: cf. *Cat.* I. 32; IV. 2: *hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem.*

**208. ducem**: sc. *Ciceronem;* cf. *Cat.* III. 1: *laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis.* In *Att.* XII. 21 Cicero complains that Brutus unduly emphasized the share of Cato in the events of December 5, 63 B.C.; cf. *Cat.* III. 18.

**210. ad sepulturam corpus**: cf. Plut., *Antony*, c. 2: 'Antony says that not even the corpse of Lentulus was returned to them until his [Antony's] mother begged it from Cicero's wife. This confessedly is a falsehood.'

**211. ne P. quidem Clodius**: whose platform was revenge for the Catilinarians; e.g. (*post red. in sen.* 4) 'the law that my enemy brought forward—that I should return only in case those who almost wiped out this state should live again.'

**§18. 213. Qui?**: *how?* **redigere in memoriam**: *remind us.* We knew it, but you should have been glad to have us forget it.

**215. natura . . . disciplina**: *natural inclination, character . . . training.* For the contrast of *disciplina* and *dolor*, cf. *Flacc.* 11; of *disciplina* and *veritas*, *Rosc. Am.* 17; cf. also *Verr.* III. 161: *in furis atque divisoris disciplina educatus*, and above, *Phil.* II. 3.

**216. evadere**: *turn out, become* (καταστῆναι, γενέσθαι); cf. *Muren.* 29: *qui oratores evadere non potuerunt; Div.* II. 146: *si somnium verum evasit aliquod.*

**217. excors**: *simple, stupid;* its synonyms are, according to Doederlein: *amens, demens, vesanus, vecors, furibundus, delirus, rabidus, ceritus.* The *excors* lacks the faculty of comprehending and examining altogether. Cf. *stupiditas* below, § 80 (l. 968); *stupor*, § 30 (l. 355). For opposites, cf. Ennius in Cic., *Tusc.* I. 18: *aliis cor ipsum animus videtur, ex quo excordes, vaecordes concordesque dicuntur et Nasica ille prudens bis consul Corculum et*

'Egregie cordatus homo catus Aeliu' Sextus.'

**221. fatebare—querebare**: assonance; notice also the even balancing of clauses with *laudasti—reprehendisti.* (ὁμοιοτέλευτον.)

**224. sontium**: *of the guilty.* The convicted culprit, as over against the merely indicted, the *reus;* cf. *Legg.* III. 6: *vincula sontium servanto.* The word does not recur in the orations.

**226. apud quos**: *before whom*, i.e. the senators as a body.

**§19. 228. stultitiae qua vincit omnes**: concerning Cornelius Lentu-

lus; cf. also *Cat.* III. 11: *impudentia, qua superabat omnis.* **clivi Capitolini**: on December 5, 63 B.C. In 58 B.C. the consul Gabinius threatened the Roman knights for their armed occupation of the Clivus Capitolinus of December 5, 63; cf. *post red. in sen.* 12; *Sest.* 28.

**229. cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati**: these *armati* were the Ityraei of Syria. In the next year, 43 B.C., looking back to the events of September 19, 44, Cicero said: *Phil.* XIII. 18: *Caesare dominante veniebamus in senatum, si non libere, at tamen tuto; hoc archipirata (quid enim dicam tyranno?) haec subsellia ab Ityraeis occupabantur.*

**231. salutares sententiae**: the first motion-and-address of Silanus, and particularly the *sententia* of Cato, are meant; cf. Sall., *Cat.* 52. **quibus ad hanc diem viximus**: it is fashionable to depreciate Cicero's services in the crisis of December, 63 B.C.; but even his bitter and ungenerous literary rival, Asinius Pollio (Sen. Rhet., *Suasor.* 6, 24), and the Caesarean Sallust praise Cicero's consular administration. Cf. the acclamations of December 20, 44, *Phil.* VI. 2: *iterum a me conservatam esse rem publicam conclamastis.*

**233. tum cum senatu copulatus**: cf. *Cat.* IV. 15: *equites Romanos ...quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem...revocatos...haec causa coniungit.* Before that time the policies of Gaius Gracchus had been a constant source of dissension.

**235. dum confiteare**: *provided you admit.*

**236. non propter audaciam**: the denied reason, correlated to *sed quia.*

**237. repugnantiam**: *inconsistency.* The word occurs but once in the orations, and was coined by Cicero in this latter stage of his authorship in his philosophical writings; cf. *Tusc.* IV. 23: *pravarum opinionum conturbatio et ipsarum inter se repugnantia; ib.* IV. 29: *inconstantia et repugnantia.* Also in *Off.*, the writing of which was closely contiguous to and overlapping the production of the Second Philippic; e.g. *Off.* III. 34; III. 17. (Merguet.)

§20. **241. Quam ... non decebat**: for comparative distance of *quam* from its modified word or phrase, cf. *Verr.* II. 46: *quam illa res calamitosa...videbatur; Mil.* 43: *quam hoc non credibile; Verr.* I. 50: *quam nemini vestrum inaudita!; de leg. agr.* II. 28: *quam id ipsum absurde.*

**242. a mima uxore**: mock gravity; he refers to the actress Cytheris (Volumnia); cf. below, §69 (l. 833), where Cicero facetiously designates the dissolution of Antony's relations with the woman as a legal divorce.

**243. 'Cedant arma togae'**: a passage from Cicero's Epic *De consulatu suo*, in which he challenged the captains of his state and gen-

eration. He never ceased to hear the echo; cf. Quintil., xi. i, 24: *quae non desierunt carpere maligni.* The complete line was:

cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.

Cicero was proud of the non-military character of his measures against the Catilinarian movement; cf. *Sull.* 33. No doubt the line was eagerly used by his adversaries to estrange him from Pompey; cf. *Pis.* 74: *Pompeium inimicum mihi isto versu esse factum; ib.* 75: *primo nonne compensabit* c u m  u n o  v e r s i c u l o *tot mea volumina laudum suarum?*

**248. neque ullas omnino litteras nosse**: and so Cicero specifically exults over Antony's *p i i s s i m i hominis*; *Phil.* xiii. 43: *Tu porro ne pios quidem, sed piissimos quaeris, et quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novam inducis.* Antony's *odivit, ib.* §42, he passes by without comment.

**250. omni genere monimentorum** (*records*): i.e. all his publications. This apologetic tone recurs frequently in his writings; it was forced from him by the narrow utilitarian bias of the Roman ingenium. Cf. e.g. *de or.* iii. 56; also *de dom.* 86: *monimenta vetustatis; Scaur.* 42; *Marcell.* 28: *monimenta audientes et legentes; Sest.* 102: *haec monimentis annalium mandantur; de leg. agr.* ii. 88: *perscriptum in monimentis veteribus; Tusc.* iv. 6: *pauca admodum Latina monimenta; Acad.* ii. 2: *ut litteris consignamus, quae monimentis mandare volumus; Fin.* iv. 61: *eloquentiae vero...quantum tibi ex monimentis nostris addidisses.* (Merguet.)

**252. Sed haec non huius temporis; maiora videamus**: a formula of transition; cf. *Phil.* vi. 15: *sed nimis multa de nugis; ad causam bellumque redeamus;* also below, §47.

**§21. 256. spectante**: Cobet would prefer *inspectante;* but did not Cicero perhaps treat the scene as a regular gladiatorial *show?* **gladio insecutus**: how Clodius was almost despatched by Antony in 53 B.C. is told also by Cicero, *Mil.* 40; Plutarch, in his biography, omits all mention of Antony's candidacy for the quaestorship.

**257. in scalas tabernae**: probably the stairs immediately adjacent to the bookshop, leading to the second story of the building—stairs not at all directly connected with the shop; such are frequent in the ruins of Pompeii.

**258. oppilatis**: *closed, barricaded;* the word is used only here in the orations, and is a rare word in general. Cf. Lucretius, vi. 724:

est quoque uti possit magnus congestus harenae
fluctibus adversis oppilare ostia contra.

It comes from 'pila' (Vanicek, *Gr. Lat. Etymol. Wörterb.*, p. 461), *pillar;* also, *dam of masonry;* 'pilare,' *to make tight;* 'pilatum agmen,' *compact column.*

**261. rem transegit:** *finished up the business, settled the job;* i.e. the killing of Clodius at Bovillae, on the Appian Way, January, 52. The phrase *rem transigere* was distinctly a business phrase: cf. *Quinct.* 76: *susceptum negotium non transegerit;* and so in the civil law: *transactum negotium, Digest.* XII. 2, 31.

**262. At ego suasi:** Antony's allegation; this is a customary use of *at.*

**263. prodesse rei publicae:** the defence of Cicero (*status*) actually aimed at showing that a plot had been laid by Clodius against Milo. Cicero here (8–9 years after the events) takes the view which in the actual trial he distinctly refused to adopt. Cf. Asconius *in Milonianam,* p. 42 (Orelli): 'and whereas certain men were ready to defend the crime on the ground that the murder of Clodius had been for the good of the state, a plan that M. Brutus adopted in the speech which he composed in defence of Milo and published as if he had actually delivered it, Cicero was not willing to do so.'

§22. **266. quaestio non satis . . . constituta:** the special provision for the trial of Milo described by Asconius *in Milonianam,* p. 39 (Orelli): a *lex Pompeia* providing for a special presiding judge (*quaestor*), to be chosen from living *consulares;* also an especial body of jurors. Pompeius had been elected *consul sine collega.*

**269. legibus:** either the quaestio *de vi,* or *de sicariis* of the Cornelian *lex iudiciaria* of Sulla, 81 B.C.

**270. nemo in me dixit:** nevertheless, in a general way (as Asconius says, *ib.* 38–39), Cicero had shared the unpopularity of Milo: *eratque maxima pars multitudinis infensa non solum Miloni, sed etiam, propter invisium patrocinium, Ciceroni.* **tot annis:** eight years and over.

**271. qui diceres:** *brazen enough to say it.*

§23. **273. opera mea Pompeium . . . bellum civile esse natum:** an absurd charge; cf. Plut., *Caes.* 31: Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ ἄρτι παρὼν ἐκ Κιλικίας καὶ διαλλαγὰς πράττων ἐμάλαττε τὸν Πομπήιον; *Phil.* VIII. 7: *De proximo bello civili non libet dicere: ignoro causam, detestor exitum; Phil.* XIII. 1: *sive qui alius civile bellum optavit, eum detestabilem civem rei publicae natum iudico.*—Of the plan to abandon the capital, Cicero wrote, on January 18, 49 (*Att.* VII. 10): *ita sum perturbatus temeritate nostri amentissimi consilii;* and particularly *Att.* VII. 14: *Equidem pacem hortari non desino, quae vel iniusta utilior est quam iustissimum bellum.*

**276. M. Bibulo . . . consule:** i.e. 59 B.C. Why not *M. Bibulo Iulio Caesare consulibus?* Perhaps it was an involuntary symptom of the profound aversion to Caesar's memory, which he no longer suppressed after the events of March 15, 44.

**279. Caesar felicior:** i.e. *quam ego*, in bending Pompey to his own policy. **a mea familiaritate diiunxit:** in a way painful to Cicero, i.e. Pompey consented to Clodius' adoption by a Plebeian and the subsequent measures by which Cicero was forced into exile in 58. Caesar did not leave for Geneva and the Helvetian war until these measures were settled. But the splendid services of Pompey for Cicero's restoration utterly extinguished any resentment that might have lingered in the soul of the orator.

**281. illum ab eo distrahere:** this is also an item in the 'speech' of Fufius Calenus against Cicero; cf. Dio Cassius, XLVI. 2. **quid . . . conarer?** *what . . . should I have tried?*

§24. **284. suaserim:** *which might have tempted me to urge;* Potential Subjunctive.

**285. ne . . . prorogaret:** i.e. from 53–48 inclusive; though Cicero himself had eventually obliged Pompey to do so, by supporting it in his *de provinciis consularibus* (56 B.C.). The present utterance throws into startling clearness the bondage under which Cicero was placed, from his restoration, August, 57, to his Cilician proconsulate.

**286. ferri:** *proposed for legislative adoption.* **absentis ratio haberetur:** permit Caesar's candidacy in his absence (*ut Caesar absens consulatum peteret.* (Halm.)

**287. in has miserias numquam incidissemus:** during the *bellum Mutinense*, in the spring of 43, Cicero uttered the following (*Phil.* XIII. 2): *Proximo bello si aliquid de summa gravitate Pompeius, multum de cupiditate Caesar remisisset, et pacem stabilem et aliquam rem publicam nobis habere licuisset.*

**289. seroque ea sentire:** i.e. to conceive Caesar's acts as leading to autocratic power; Plutarch (*Caes.* 28) puts the matter very well, saying that Pompey had long conceived himself as the one who had *made Caesar;* it would not be difficult, therefore, to *unmake him:* ὡς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔργον ὃν αὐτὸς ηὔξησε, καταλυθῆναι πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

**291. pacis . . . auctor esse non destiti:** cf. *Phil.* VII. 7: 'I am he who has been at all times an adviser of peace, and to whom peace, particularly peace in the state, has always been extremely desirable; for the whole of my industrious career has been passed in the forum and in the senate house in warding off dangers from my friends.'

**295. Fuit**: why not *fuisset?* because the logical correctness of the statement is asserted in an abstract way, without dealing with the actual events or trend of events. Cf. *debebat* and kindred constructions; see G. 254, R. 1; Lane, §§1495–96 ('*est* with the predicative genitive or a possessive pronoun').

**298. flagitiis, egestate, infamia**: the asyndetic heaping up (*congeries*) of three or more kindred ideas is a characteristic of Cicero's manner.

§25. **299. Caesarem meo consilio interfectum**: evidently Antony maintained these charges further on. Cf. *Phil.* XIII. 41: *Deceptum autem a me Caesarem dicere audes? Tu, tu, inquam, illum occidisti Lupercalibus.*

**301. praevaricatorem**: 'an insincere advocate, a faithless, feigning counsel.' Cf. *Vatin.* 3, *Caecil.* 58, *Pis.* 23; *Cluent.* 58: *non defendere, sed praevaricari; ib.* 87; *har. resp.* 42: *a Catilina pecuniam accepit, ut turpissime praevaricaretur*—etymologically: *one who does not stride straight.* Cf. Vanicek, 136: 'in die Quere gehen, es heimlich mit der Gegenpartei halten.' Cic., *Part. Orat.* 126: *ex vero accusatore, cui contrarium est nomen praevaricatoris...quod significat eum, qui in contrariis causis quasi varie esse positus videatur.*

**303. societate gloriosissimi facti**: the inference is, politically speaking, that Cicero in the fall of 44 either considered young Octavianus Caesar a negligible quantity so far as the latter pursued the rôle of the *ultor Caesaris* (Hor., *Carm.* I. 2), or that the latter consummately concealed his real design from the Republican idealist. Brutus, in the East, saw more clearly.

**306. iactasse se aliquos**: cf. Dio Cass., xliv. 21; Appian, II. 119, 122; Cic., *Fam.* XII. 14, 6; 15, 2. (Cobet.) Dolabella himself at first did so. Appian further names Lentulus Spinther, Favonius Aquinus, Murcus, and Paliscus, 'who though not sharers in the deed laid claim to the glory.'

§26. **309. partim obscuris, partim adulescentibus**: Trebonius was the only consular. According to Suetonius (*Iulius*, 80) there were sixty persons in the plot. Cicero, below, names but eight. Drumann, III. p. 693, gathers from the entire available tradition but twenty names in all, of whom seven were former Caesareans, nine former adherents of Pompey. Of four it was impossible to discover the partisan position. Campe objects to *obscuris* and suggests *obstinatis*; but, really, *were* they *lumina civitatis?*

**312. actoribus**: Cobet, defending this reading for MSS. *auctoribus*, quotes Plut., *Brutus*, 10, 1: καὶ δρῶντας (*actores*) ἀθυμοτέρους ἔσεσθαι καὶ

δράσαντας (*auctores*) ὑποπτοτέρους. The complement of *auctor* is *actor*, not *auctor*. **Brutos ego impellerem**: cf. *Phil.* VII. 11: *Brutum* (*D.*) *omine quodam illius generis et nominis natum ad rem publicam liberandam.*

**313. L. Bruti imaginem cotidie**: before the empire mainly masks of wax, which could be worn by paid mutes at funerals; cf. the famous description by Polybius, VI. 53, and see Pauly, *Real Encycl.* s. v. *nobilis*.

**314. his maioribus**: *with such ancestry* (Abl. of Quality).

**317. ne potentiam quidem**: Plutarch, *Brutus*, 9, says: 'from the beginning there was in the nature of Cassius a certain ill-will and hostility to the kingly tribe,' and illustrates it by an anecdote: that Cassius as a boy attended the same school as Sulla's son Faustus and belabored the latter with his fist when Faustus boasted of his (late) father's autocratic power. *potentia* and *dominatus* differ widely from the *potestas* and *imperium* inherent in constitutional magistracies. Cf. *Mil.* 88: *Caesaris potentiam; Phil.* VII. 17: *Gracchorum; Rosc. Am.* 122: *Chrysogoni* (favorite of Sulla's); *Verr.* I. 3, *patronorum; Cael.* 22: *periculosas hominum potentias.*

**319. in Cilicia . . . confecisset**: 'The meeting of Caesar with Cassius on the coast of Cilicia, which Cicero alone relates (*Phil.* II. 26) is either based on a confusion with the meeting at the Hellespont, or it is an erroneous notice Cicero received by hearsay during his long sojourn at Brundisium. The incident would fit the time only when (in 47) Caesar crossed from Egypt to Syria to wage war upon Pharnaces.' (Halm, Einleitung).

**§27. 322. patris interitus**: i.e. at Pharsalus; cf. below, §71 (l. 849): *L. Domitium clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occideras.* L. Dom. Ahenobarbus, aedile in 61, praetor in 59, consul in 54, presiding judge (*quaesitor*) in trial of Milo, 52, distinguished in 49 both at Corfinium and Massilia as an irreconcilable enemy of Caesar and of Caesar's ambition: 'he fought as long as life lasted' (Drumann, III. p. 22).

**323. avunculi mors**: that of Cato of Utica. As for young Domitius, who lived to see Actium, 31 B.C., and died a natural death soon after, Drumann curiously does not believe that Cicero was correctly informed in placing him among the conspirators (III. p. 25). **reciperandam libertatem**: *recipero* was the favorite word of Cicero when dealing with the restoration of laws or constitutional freedom; thus even of Sulla, *Rosc. Amer.* 141; *de dom.* 79; *har. resp.* 54: *rempublicam reciperare. Libertatem reciperare* occurs sixteen times in the orations (Merguet, *libertas*), fourteen of which are in the Philippics. Cf.

also *Phil.* x. 20: *repetere libertatem.* **C. Trebonio**: Trebonius was of equestrian birth, quaestor in 60. As trib. pl. he was an instrument of the Triumvirs in carrying the *Lex Trebonia de provinciis consularibus.* He was legatus of Caesar, 49; praetor, 48; appointed consul in October, 45, with *Asia* as his province. In May, 44, he was under way for Asia (Drumann, III. p. 700).

**329. L. Tillius Cimber**: likewise an original Caesarean and social favorite of the autocrat. Bithynia was designated as his province for 43. Plutarch (*Caesar*, 66) wrote *Tullius* erroneously (Drumann, III. p. 699). **quem . . . fecisse**: *the idea that he should have done it!*

**331. immemor beneficiorum**: cf. *Fam.* VI. 12, 2 (46 B.C.): *Cimber autem Tillius mihi plane satisfecit. Valent tamen apud Caesarem non tam ambitiosae rogationes quam necessariae: quam quia Cimber habuit, plus valuit*, etc.

**332. duos Servilios**: Publius and Gaius Servilius Casca, Caesareans. Publius was *Trib. pl. designatus* at the time of the assassination: he disappeared after the funeral speech of Antony. Octavian interposed no objection to Casca's entering upon his tribunate on December 10, 44, a proceeding at which Antony before Mutina stood aghast. Cf. *Phil.* XIII. 31: *Cascam tribunatum gerere passi estis* (Drumann, III. p. 698).

**335. Longum est**: *it would take too long;* the Indicative according to the Latin idiom.

**§28. 339. Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit**: of course, Brutus actually uttered the Vocative '*Cicero!*': but the direct quotation is very unusual. Cf. Dio Cassius, xliv. 20: 'They continually shouted (the name of) Cicero.' The motive of the conspirators in this matter was perhaps to secure the sympathies of the Equestrian class and of conservative citizens generally; for Cicero was regarded as the most prominent type of these classes. Cf. Plutarch, *Cicero*, 42—of Cicero: καὶ τὰ πάλαι (παλαιὰ ?) ποθεῖν πράγματα δοκῶν ὡς ἕτερος οὐδείς.

**340. recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus**: *made the recovery of freedom the theme of his congratulations;* Acc. of Inner Object. Forcellini gives *de*, *quod*, or *Acc. a. Infin.* as the constructions with *gratuler*. The Acc. is without parallel in Cicero's orations. (Merguet.)

**342. vide ne . . . fuerit**: this is idiomatic = *the chances are that, there is a strong probability;* cf. the German 'Am Ende,' a paraphrase for a Potential mood. Also *Marcell.* 26: *vide . . . ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura quam gloria.*

**344. laudium**: for this rare form Georges (*Wortformen*) cites only this passage.

§29. **347. crimen**: strictly, *charge*, not really ever a full equivalent of *scelus*, but always subjective; cf. *Verr.* v. 153: *meum enim crimen avaritiae te nimiae coarguit; Rosc. com.* 17: *falsum crimen; Flacc.* 33: *crimen sibi ipsum facere; Verr.* II. 177: *crimen inane; Mil.* 96: *sibi facinoris suspicionem, non facti crimen obstare.*

**350. Ecquis est igitur**: but there were some, as Cicero well knew, such as that distinguished gentleman Matius ('Calvena'), of rare integrity and wide culture, whose hands were, it seems, entirely free from the spoils of confiscation, and whom Cicero profoundly respected. Of the vast majority of Caesar's followers, Professor Tyrrell, one of the most accurate students of this period, speaks with sweeping contempt.

**354. voluntas nemini**: chiasmus with preceding *aliis*, throwing into especial emphasis the last word—*nemini.*

§30. **355. pecudis**: *dumb beast; pecus, -oris*, is never used by Cicero in this sense: cf. *Phil.* VIII. 9: *si homines illi ac non pecudes potius; har. resp.* 5: *quid enim persequar, pecudem ac beluam; Pis.* 72 (speaking of Piso): *istius impurissimae atque intemperantissimae pecudis caeno ac sordibus.*

**357. cruentum pugionem . . . exclamavit**: cf. Dio Cass., xlvi. 22, 4: 'when they had run into the forum with naked swords, they called him by name at the top of their voices, incessantly saying: "Cicero!"'

**358. conscium**: *in the plot.*

**359. suspicatum aliquid suspicaris**: words chosen for assonance, as well as to bring out the indirectness and unsubstantial character of the charge. For the assonance, see Note on §12 (l. 155).

**360. honoris causa**: the Romans, perhaps, resorted to this phrase in what we may call their parliamentary language, on account of the stringency of the civil law in punishing any infraction of personal dignity.

**364. edormi crapulam . . . et exhala**: cf. Ter. *Ad.* 786: *edormiscam hoc villi*, 'den Rausch *ausschlafen*'; for spelling *exhalare*, not *exalare*, Müller gives sound reasons. Of course, it must be remembered that this *h* was not actually pronounced.

**365. faces admovendae . . . tantae causae indormientem**: as a matter of fact, Cicero knew full well that Antony's policy was to eliminate the Caesaricides from public life and that he had begun to carry out this policy with consummate skill in his *laudatio funebris* of Caesar. Still, he held back enough to tantalize the constitutionalists. Hence the open letter of Brutus and Cassius in the summer of 44, from Campania. **indormientem**: *sleeping over, not alive to*, so momentous an issue.

**368. vindices libertatis**: like the elder Brutus, like Virginius.

§**31. 370. punctum temporis**: *a moment, a second.* Cf. Caes., *B. G.* II. 14, 4: *multorum mensium labor puncto temporis interiit.* Livy introduces '*momentum* temporis.' (Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus,* II. p. 88.)

**372. nego quicquam esse medium**: every one who rejoiced at Caesar's death will be counted as a public enemy in the eyes of the other side; thus even on Apr. 26, 44 (*Att.* XIV. 13), Cicero made this open admission: *quemcunque enim haec pars perditorum laetatum Caesaris morte putabit—laetitiam autem apertissime tulimus omnes—hunc in hostium numero putabit.*

**378. in hoc ordine**: *in this body*, i.e. in the Senate. **apud populum Romanum**: probably in *contiones* in the forum, from the rostra.

**379. referente te**: *when you presided.* **legibus est solutus**: this was done in a session of June 5, 44. Brutus and Cassius, being praetors, could not, under the laws, leave Rome without special dispensation before the expiration of their term of office: they were consequently manœuvred away by a *cura annonae.* Cassius, indeed, was first inclined to take the whole mandate as an affront; cf. *Att.* XV. 11; see Lange, *Röm. Alterthümer*, III. p. 502.

**381. incredibili M. Bruti honore**: hardly exact. The Ludi Apollinares, July 7, were to be given by the praetor urbanus, Brutus: they were given for him in his absence. Cicero (*Att.* XV. 26) had declined the invitation of Brutus to attend these games in person and had reached the gulf of Naples at the time. On this occasion, for the first time it would seem, the date was officially designated *Nonis Iuliis* (instead of *Nonis Quinctilibus*), news of which caused an ebullition of wrath on the part of Cicero, *Att.* XVI. I. Brutus was pleased with the manner (*Att.* XVI. 2) in which Accius' *Tereus* had been received. Besides (*Att.* XVI. 5), there were 'Greek games,' which fell flat. It seems from Appian, *B. C.* III. 24, that Octavian's measures checkmated the *claque* organized in Brutus' interest. See Lange, *Röm. Alt.* III. p. 509.

§**32. 386. quae diiunctius dicuntur**: *statements which involve an alternative of two things, a dilemma*, i.e. that the slayers were either lofty patriots or base traitors: 'You cannot call Brutus an honorable man and at the same time disapprove of Caesar's removal.' Cf. *nat. deo.* I. 70: *a quibus* (sc. *dialecticis*) *cum traditum sit in omnibus diiunctionibus in quibus aut etiam* (yes) *aut non* (no) *poneretur, alterum utrum esse verum.* (Some old critics suggested *distinctius*, but even Muretus read *diiunctius.*)

**390. retexo orationem meam**: *retract* (*unweave*) *my contention.* The only other occurrence of *retexo* in the orations are *Verr.* II. 63: *non tam suam praeturam gerere, quam istius praeturam retexere* (undo);

in the primary sense, *Acad.* II. 95 ; *quasi Penelope telam retexens;* cf. Fin. v. 84. **Scribam ad illos**: viz. to Brutus, Cassius, Trebonius, etc., who were abroad on September 19, 44. **ut si qui forte**: we have three distinct clauses in involved order, which is very rare in Cicero—construe : *ut, si qui forte quaerent sitne verum quod a te mihi obiectum est, ne cui negent.*

**392. celatum me** (*esse*) : corresponds to *invitatum refugisse.* Cicero is dealing not with facts but with abstract allegations (τὸ . . .). Cobet says on *Fam.* X. 28 : *Cicero probe sciebat et aegerrime tulerat se a Bruto et Cassio celatum esse et se Idibus Martiis ad cenam non esse invitatum ;* cf. also *Fam.* XII. 4 ; XII. 3 : *Ad Cassium scribit vestri pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus* (*Antonius*) *me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuissem ! molestus vobis non esset : sed hoc vestrum est* (*qui me celastis*—Cobet). (*Mnemos.*, 1879, p. 121.)

**394. Quae enim res**: the warmest utterances on this subject are found in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus in the first month after the deed ; cf. *Att.* XIV. 4 (April 9 or 10, 44): *nostri autem* ἥρωες, *quod per ipsos confici potuit, gloriosissime et magnificentissime confecerunt.*

**396. commendatior . . . memoriae**: *more certain of a permanent place in human history.* As for the form, cf. *Balb.* 43 : *cui non illa civitas sit huius studio, cura, diligentia commendatior.*

**397. tamquam in equum Troianum** : i.e. 'rank with the leaders.' Before Vergil's national Epic, Trojan matters, apart from Homer, had become familiar to the Romans through the numberless plays of Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, dealing with Troy as well as through the fictitious ancestral records of the gentes Troianae of the Roman aristocracy. Cf. *Muren.* 78 : *Intus est equus Troianus.*

**399. quoquo animo**: *no matter what the spirit in which you do it;* Indefinite Relative ; Concessive in effect, like *quamquam.* See G. 254, 4 ; Lane, 1814.

**§33. 400. quam tu in me vis concitare**: the (potential) elements of *odium* which Cicero's enemies, and particularly Antony, employed against him are all gathered in the so-called 'speech' of Fufius Calenus in Dio Cassius, XLVI. 1–28, a speech which *may* have been built up by Dio Cassius out of the material of current rhetorical school exercises of tradition, but which, very probably, was constructed ultimately out of the *contiones* which Antony issued against Cicero during the *bellum Mutinense.* All the points to which Cicero replies in the first part of the Second Philippic are there presented, and many more, which latter, in part, reply to the charges made in the second part of the Second Philippic. Some critics have suggested making Asinius

Pollio the authority for the treatment of Dio Cassius e.g. Max Büdinger, *Cicero und der Patriciat*, Vienna Academy, 1881. But it is unlikely that Pollio, when he retired from war and politic to literature and criticism, should have made himself the apologist of any contemporary, much less the mere *rhetor* of Antony; his jealousy was all-embracing.

**402. relegatos:** *banished* (from the capital); the technical term *Relegatio*, in civil law, involved *capitis deminutio.* Such was in reality the status of the conspirators, in spite of the amnesty of March 17.

**403. desertus . . . inhumanus:** *desolate . . . uncivilized.*

**405. agrestes:** *boorish.* **maximum . . . vitae fructum:** *vitae* is the Subjective Gen.; *the greatest enjoyment their life has afforded them* (not *the enjoyment of life*). *Vita* is the source of *fructus*, as is evident in all passages in Merguet's Lexicon, even in the case of the Plural; *Muren.* 47: *etiam ceteri vitae fructus relinquendi; Marc.* 3: *fructum omnis ante actae vitae hodierno die maximum cepit; Div.* II. 24: *omnem fructum vitae superioris perdidissent.*

**409. talem in numerum:** i.e. *in talium virorum numerum.*

**§34. 411. non solum regem sed etiam regnum:** this is the burden of Cicero's plaint in his correspondence of spring and summer, 44: e.g. *Att.* XIV. 4: *equidem doleo, quod numquam in ulla civitate accidit, non una cum civitate libertatem recuperatam; Att.* XIV. 6: *nihil enim tam σόλοικον quam tyrannoctonos in caelo esse, tyranni facta defendi; Att.* XIV. 9: *O di boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit!*

**412. si meus stilus ille:** Cicero here plays upon a double sense of *stilus—writing* and *poniard;* thus Horace says of his own *stilus*, *Sat.* II. I, 39:

> Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
> Quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis
> Vagina tectus; quem cur destringere coner
> Tutus ab infestis latronibus.

The *ille* after *stilus* points to a familiar or notorious one: whose? The point of the *stilus* (like that of the *pugio*) was called *mucro;* cf. *Cluent.* 123. **totam fabulam confecissem:** *I would have finished up the entire play;* 'I would have made a clean job of it, I would have killed Antony too!' It is to be remembered that Cassius had vainly proposed to murder both Antony and Lepidus. The metaphor recurs in Cicero's *Cato* (a dialogue of 44), 5: *a qua* (sc. *natura*) *non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectam.*

**420. quod non iudicasti**: we are probably justified in seeing in this and similar passages in this political pamphlet the design of widening the breach between Antony and Octavianus Caesar.

§35. **422. virum res illa**: of all the charges of Cicero against Antony this was the weakest; Antony was superlatively endowed with physical courage as well as with reckless resoluteness.

**423. illud Cassianum**: *that classic phrase of Cassius*, viz. who is the interested party (in the act at bar); cf. *Mil.* 32, *illud Cassianum iudicium*, with Asconius' comment: 'L. Cassius was...a man of the greatest sternness. As often as he was the judge at any trial in which the question was murder, he used to urge and even instruct the jurors that this thing, which Cicero now advises, should be brought out, *to whose advantage it was* that he, whose death was being investigated, should perish.' **ad aedem Opis**: Cobet brackets *aedem* (p. 121), citing Ter., *Adel.*, 582, *ad Dianae;* Cic., *Phil.* I. 17, *ad Opis;* also below, §93 (l. 1109), and *Phil.* VIII. 26. Drakenborch on Livy, X. 23, quotes: *ad Martis, ad Cereris, ad Spei, ad Apollinis, ad Cereris Liberi Liberaeque.* Also *in* and *pro* do not allow or need this ellipsis.

**428. per easdem tabulas**: cf. *Phil.* V. 11: *falsis perscriptionibus; entries.* **innumerabilem pecuniam**: i.e. *septiens miliens*, $30,800,000. Cf. below, §93 (l. 1108); *Phil.* VI. 3: *pecunia publica dissipata atque effusa.*

**429. e domo Caesaris tam multa**: because Caesar's widow, Calpurnia, feared (unnecessarily) that the *regia*, Caesar's official residence, was less secure than Antony's (Pompey's) mansion. Cf. Drumann, I. p. 85.

**431. officina**: *workshop, factory;* used also of studios in Pliny's Letters.

**432. nundinae**: from *novem dies*, the (eight days') market of the old Latin farmer; cf. Macrobius, I. 16, 34: *Rutilius scribit Romanos instituisse nundinas, ut octo quidem diebus* (seven, of course, are meant) *in agris rustici opus facerent, nono autem* (every eighth) *die intermisso rure ad mercatum legesque accipiendas Romam venirent...* Cf. Cic., *Verr.* II. 120: *ad tuum quaestum nundinationemque.*

§36. **435. subtimes**: '*do you entertain a* LURKING *fear*' (*sub* like Greek ὑπο-); Cicero has *subaccuso, subhorridus, subinvisus, subrancidus*, in the orations; in the philosophical writings we meet *subadroganter, subagrestis, subamarus, subdifficilis, subirascor.*

**436. libero te**: observe the short sentences of sarcastic analysis: *nemo credet—non est tuum—habet—dico—arguo.* They show ἦθος, while elaborate periods are more indicative of πάθος.

§37. **442. Castra Pompei**: at Pharsalos, before the battle; Cicero was there, not indeed as a sanguinary partisan, as the others mainly were,

but purely from personal regard for Pompey; even in February, 49, he had written (*Att.* VIII. I and 4): *Unus Pompeius me movet, beneficio* (of 57, viz. the return of Cicero from exile) *non auctoritate.* Of Cicero's difference of policy there and during that period, Plutarch (*Cic.* 38) says: 'and belittling Pompey's military preparations and entertaining but ill-concealed antipathy toward his plans.'

**445. iaceres:** in real correlation to *liberi essemus*, which *egeres* of the MSS. fails signally to be; the thought is really an iteration of §24 (l. 298), above: *respublica staret, tu tuis flagitiis egestate infamia concidisses*, perhaps we should read *egestate iaceres.*

**446. cum . . . providerem:** to the truthfulness of this statement Cicero's correspondence of 49 B.C. bears ample testimony. Cicero had seen the precedents of Cinna and Sulla. The future victor (at Pharsalos) was sure to assume the rôle of autocrat, for which Cicero had no place in either his political ideals or sympathies. Cf. *Att.* VIII. I (February 16, 49): *quo minus mirere, si invitus in eam causam descendo, in qua neque pacis nec victoriae ratio quaesita sit umquam, sed semper flagitiosae et calamitosae fugae.*

**449. quondam:** December 5, 63.

**451. indoctus ignarusque rerum:** another doublet; cf. *Planc.* 13: *deseruisti ac reliquisti; ib.* 40: *me ignaro . . . inscio;* 44: *respuerent . . . repudiarent;* 47: *volgari ac pervagata declamatione;* 56: *oro atque obsecro;* 56: *disseminato dispersoque sermone;* 89: *contentione et armis;* 90: *ferro ac manu;* 94: *obtemperem et paream;* 102: *divellat ac distrahat;* 104: *oro et obtestor.*—This is typical of Cicero's manner.

**452. propter vitae cupiditatem:** earlier in his career Cicero had to defend himself against the charge that he had withdrawn into exile before the political attacks of Clodius rather than enter with him into a contention of matching violence with violence; e.g. *Planc.* 90: *ego vero si tum illorum impiorum ferro ac manu concidissem, in perpetuum res publica civile praesidium salutis suae perdidisset.*

**454. lumina rei publicae:** so Caesar himself is called, *Deiot.* 15: *omnium gentium atque omnis memoriae clarissimum lumen* (*extinguere*); and Pompey: *Phil.* V. 39: *imperii populi Romani lumen.* Cf. our: 'bright particular star,' 'the great names'; *prov. cons.* 22: *intueor coram haec lumina rei publica; Mil.* 37, of Hortensius; *Phil.* XI. 24, of Brutus; sarcastically, *Phil.* XI. 14: *lumen et decus illius exercitus.* Rome is called *lumen gentium, Sull.* 33.

**455. tot consularis, tot praetorios:** this is a sweeping and comprehensive survey, referring not so much to the casualties of Pharsalos itself,

where but ten senators perished and but one consular (Domitius Ahenobarbus), but to the desolation wrought by the further progress of the civil war.

**458. omnis pax . . . utilior:** cf. *Marc.* 14 : *semper de pace audiendum putavi; Deiot.* 29 : *ego qui pacis semper auctor fui.*

**459. rem publicam:** i.e. that of the senatorial principate.

**§38. 461. spe victoriae elati:** 'the *consulares* and *praetorii* in Pompey's camp were so sure of victory...that they actually partitioned among themselves the vacant priestly offices and the consulates of the subsequent years, as well as the estates and parks of the Caesareans' (Lange, *Röm. Alterthümer*, III. p. 425). Cf. Caes., *B. C.* III. 82, 83 : *omnes aut de honoribus suis aut de praemiis pecuniae aut de persequendis inimicitiis agebant, nec, quibus rationibus superare possent, sed, quem ad modum uti victoria deberent, cogitabant* . . . ; Cic., *Marc.* 17 : *nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam.*

**464. oratio mea:** *the tenor of my utterances;* cf. Plut., *Cicero*, 38.

**467. de summa re publica:** *on the leading political issues.* Pompey e.g. entertained serious designs of acting Sulla's rôle, should victory be his in the impending contest ; cf. *Att.* IX. 7 : *mirandum in modum Cnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit, εἰδώς σοι λέγω. Nihil ille umquam minus obscure tulit. Cum hocne igitur, inquies, esse vis? Beneficium sequor, mihi crede, non causam...*

**470. dignitati:** the *dignitas* of Caesar and Pompey was the bone of contention at first, for few saw as clearly as Caesar that the republic was moribund ; still, this was merely the *occasion*, not the deeper *cause*, of the outbreak of the civil war. Even Antony during the *bellum Mutinense* kept designating the senate at Rome as a camp of 'Pompeians.' Cf. *Ligar.* 19 : *principum dignitas erat paene par, non par fortasse eorum qui sequebantur.*

**§39. 473. ille singularis vir:** even in the three 'Caesarean' speeches of Cicero (*pro Ligario, pro Marcello, pro rege Deiotaro*) there is no real recantation of Cicero's personal regard for Pompey's memory; cf. *Deiot.* 12 : *neque enim, si tuae res gestae ceterorum laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, idcirco Cn. Pompei memoriam amisimus.*

**476. me vidisse plus:** *that my judgment was more profound;* cf. *Phil.* VIII. 16 : *Uno in homine, Q. Fufi, fateor te vidisse plus quam me...In hoc uno te plurimum vidisse, me multum errasse concedo.*

**477. eius viri nomine:** *on the* SCORE *of that man;* properly a commercial phrase ; cf. Caes., *B. G.* I. 18 : *odisse etiam suo nomine* (private account) *Caesarem;* Justinian, *Instit.* III. 21 : *olim scriptura fiebat obligatio, quae nominibus fieri dicebatur, quae nomina hodie non sunt in usu.*

**478. insectari . . . sectorem**: punning assonance; see Note on *providit —vidit*, §12 (l. 155), above. This is one of the literary earmarks of Cicero, which in part explains his literary sympathy for Plautus; the *sector* was a man who bid in such forms of property at auctions, probably because it passed into private possession after having been divided (*secare*) into 'lots'; cf. *sectio* below, §§71, 75. Young Cicero, at 26, puns on the resemblance of *sector* and *sicarius* (*Sext. Rosc. Am.* 80): *nescimus per ista tempora eosdem fere sectores fuisse collorum et bonorum; . . . qui et sector est et sicarius;* to Cicero probably the very word was still malodorous in 44, from the associations of 82–81 B.C.

**480. de iocis**: cf. Plut., *Cic.* 38: 'and not refraining from scoffing and uttering witticisms directed at the allies, but himself always going about in the camp without laughing and with beetling brow.' Tiro seems to have gathered some of these into his book.

**483. interdum animis relaxantur**: *sometimes unbend in their feelings*, i.e. seek a temporary counterpoise to the gravity and gloom of their prevailing strain of consciousness and sentiment.

§**40. 484. maestitiam . . . iocum**: both combined in Plutarch's description given above (Plut., *Cic.* 38).

**485. magno argumento**: *serves as a great proof;* cf. *arguo*, lit. *I make clear, bright.* Hence a summary, e.g. of a play, is called *argumentum* because it makes clear the plot to spectator or reader.

**487. Hereditates . . . venire**: in the fall of 57, thirteen years before, Cicero said, in referring to his exile of 58—Aug., 57, *de Dom.* 85: *quis meorum amicorum testamentum discessu meo fecit, qui mihi non idem tribuerit, quod si adessem?* Cf. also *Att.* XI. 2 (48 B.C.): *si ut scribis ista hereditas fidem et famam tueri potest.* In January, 52, Cicero was made co-heir with Clodius by the architect Cyrus, whom he may have defended in some civil suit; cf. *Mil.* 48.

**489. istuc**: more common than *istud* even in classical Latin; see G. 104, II. N. 2.

**490. sestertium ducentiens**: 200 × 100,000 sest. = $888,000 approximately.

**494. L. Rubrius Casinas**: Casinum was on the old *via Latina*, where now is Monte Cassino, on Naples-Rome railway. Cf. *Att.* XVI. II. Is this the same Rubrius whose heirs (*Phil.* II. 74) secured an injunction from Caesar preventing Antony from disposing of certain property?

§**41. 496. albus aterne**: proverbial, *black or white;* i.e. of whose person you have absolutely no direct knowledge whatsoever. *albus* is ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in Cicero's orations. For *albus* in contrast with *ater*, cf. *Tusc.* V. 114; with *niger*, *Acad.* II. 34; *Div.* II. 9. Cf., also, the

distich of contemptuous defiance of Catullus, 93, cited by Forcellini.

Nil nimium studeo Caesar tibi belle placere,
Nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.

**498. palam**: *in his open and public utterances;* note the combination of *semper* with the iterative *factitarat;* cf. *nisi si.* We are not, however, as I think, to believe that Cicero referred to a real *nuncupative will*, as Mayor's citation from Ulpian, *Digest.* XXVIII. I, 21, seems to suggest.

**500. velim . . . dicas**: cautious paraphrase of Imperative—in which paraphrases Latin abounds: *fac ut, cura ut, vide facias, volo, velim.* See G. 271.

**502. qua tribu**: the addition of the tribe was essential to the full and explicit nomenclature of Roman citizens; see the list of the 35 tribes in Madvig, *Verf.* I. p. 101, note 2; cf. *Phil.* IX. 15: *Serv. Sulpicius Q.(uinti) f(ilius) Lemonia (tribu) Rufus.*

**504. faciebat**: probably = *facturus erat* (*was set upon making*), and thus adds to the ironical innuendo of the passage; see G. 233. **in multas . . . pecunias . . . invasisti**: *appropriated as an usurper. Invadere* was used originally of trespass and illegal occupation by violence; cf. *Rosc. Amer.* 6: *in alienam pecuniam...nullo iure invaserit; ib.* 23: *in praedia huius;* below, *Phil.* II. 65: *in eius viri fortunas.* Cf. also *invasor* in civil law language, in Heumann's lexicon.

§42. **508. non adisses**: why did young Antony not enter upon his father's estate? the latter, M. Antonius 'Creticus,' acc. to Fischer's *Zeittafeln*, p. 200, died in 72, when Antony was but eleven, being *impubes* and not qualified to enter upon an inheritance without the *auctoritas* of tutors. Probably the father died insolvent. *Hereditatem adire* is 'to *take* an inheritance,' as our legal language has it; the *sui heredes* had the privilege of election during a prescribed period, the right of *cretio.* Equivalents for *non adire* in the civil law are: *hereditatem omittere, repudiare, abstinere se ab hereditate.*

**510. aliena villa**: Cicero denies the legality of Antony's acquisition of the villa of Metellus Scipio at Tibur.

**512. declamas**: *practice rhetoric;* in the technical language of the elder Seneca, Quintilian, etc., the *rhetor* is also called *declamator.* **at vero**: this is the point—what a fit *rhetor* must he be who is clown in ordinary at your carousals. **ioci causa**: Bake bracketed *causa*, but it is in Suetonius *de Rhet.* 5.

**513. cui concessisti**: Antony, even before his consulate, positively enjoyed the sallies of his professor, even when Fulvia was the object:

*nec eo minus, immo vel magis ob hoc Antonio gratus.* (Suet., *de Rhet.* 5).

**514. salsum**: the greatest collection of similar or related terms is found in Cicero, *Or.* II. 216 sqq.: *insulsus, insulsitas, cavillatio, dicacitas, facetus, facete, hilaritas, iocus, dicax, salsissime, dicta salsa, ludere, urbanus, lepor, festivitas, risus.*

**515. dicta dicere**: *get off clever things.*

**516. avum tuum**: the second one of the ideals of young Cicero in oratory, and the other one, therefore, of the two chief interlocutors in Cicero's splendid treatise *de Oratore.* He fell a victim to Cinna.

**517. sensim . . . cursim**: *gradually*, i.e. *deliberately*: opp. to *hastily*, with slovenly disregard of logical relevancy.

**518. aliena**: *irrelevant matters.*

§**43. 521. adsignasti**: on the commission of seven (*agris dandis adsignandis*), were all three Antonii and four others. Cf. Suet., *de Rhet.* 5: *a quo mox consule ingens etiam congiarium accepit ut ei in Philippicis Cicero obiecit;* also cf. Dio Cass. XLIV. 53; and XLVI. 8: καίπερ δισχίλια τῷ διδασκάλῳ πλέθρα τῆς Λεοντίνων γῆς, ὡς φῄς, δεδωκότες . . . Cf. L. Lange, *Röm. Alt.* III. p. 499.

**524. Leontino agro et . . . Campano**: cf. below, §101 (l. 1207), and *Phil.* VIII. 26: *hic est Campanus ager et Leontinus quae duo maiores nostri annonae perfugia ducebant.*

**525. possessoribus**: not *dominis;* the reference is particularly to Campania, where Cicero's Puteolanum and Pompeianum made him a witness of these mutations, the older owners, Pompeians, being his friends. Cicero, by using the word *possessor*, questions their civil title.

**527. emendatore et correctore nostro**: *my taskmaster and moral preceptor;* bitter and ironical.

**528. saepius decertandum**: clearly these words were penned at a time when Cicero looked forward to a *series* of political speeches against Antony; accordingly, *after* November 28, 44 B.C.

§**44. 531. a puero**: cf. *Att.* VII. 8: *accusatio Pompei usque a toga pura.* **sic, opinor**: *Yes (we will), I suppose.* Answers to questions like this (which carry their own answers and are merely a σχῆμα διανοίας) are exceedingly rare in Cicero. The tone is very tranquil, easy, colloquial. The punctuation *sic, opinor* is due to Madvig. on *Fin.*, p. 354. Nägelsb. *Lat. Styl.*, p. 550, §197, 1 (who omits the comma) says: 'nachdrückliche Voranstellung eines *sic* oder *ita*, in welchem dann nicht bloss ein *so ist es*, sondern ein JA *so ist es* enthalten ist.'

**533. decoxisse**: *became insolvent;* lit. *boiled away*, wasted your property. This was, of course, not because his father's liabilities

made him so, but because he plunged into debt, since his father left him nothing.

**535. quattuordecim ordinibus . . . lege Roscia**: of 67 B.C. Before gaining a quaestorship, a senator's son belonged normally to the *ordo equester*. The *lex Roscia* was a *plebiscitum;* Asconius *in Cornelianam*, p. 79, says: 'L. Roscius Otho, two years before, ordained that in the theatre fourteen rows should be given to the Roman knights.' Young Antony did not have the *census equester* at the time: cf. *Rosc. Com.*, 42: *quem tu si ex censu spectas, eques Romanus est, si ex vita, homo clarissimus.* Madvig (*Verf.* I., p. 168) says: 'Cicero suggests (*Phil.* II. 18, our present passage) that those were treated with a certain leniency as regards the equestrian place in the theatre, who had lost their fortune through no fault of their own.'

**538. virilem**: sc. *togam:* this took place at about fifteen, and was the official designation of puberty.

**539. vulgare scortum**: so he speaks of Clodius as a *scortum populare* (*de Dom.* 49); cf. *Phil.* III. 15: *in Caesarem* (*Octavianum*) *maledicta congessit deprompta ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum.* **certa**: *fixed, definite.*

**541. stolam**: a wife's robe, a matron's dress; thus the dowager Livia was called by Caligula *Ulysses stolatus* (Suet., *Calig.* 23). Hence here: *as if he had made him his wedded wife.* On the whole matter: cf. Cic. *pro Caelio.* These charges were so loosely made, as a rule, as to be almost meaningless, because the provisions of the civil law on verbal *iniuriae* were severe.

**§45. 543. Curionis**: cf. Plut., *Ant.* 2; 'and they say that the friendship and association with Curio fell upon Antony, who had become famous for his youthful beauty, like a Fate.'

**544. eiecit**: Plut., *Ant.* 2: 'he drove Antony from his house.'

**550. cum pater . . . iacebat**: Temporal *cum;* see G. 580, and cf. Greek ὅτε. The further Imperfects *commendabat . . . orabat . . . dicebat . . . confirmabat* indicate clearly the speaker's conscious intention of having the whole scene once more vividly pass before his eyes.

**553. sexagiens**: sc. 100,000 sesterces = about $284,000. Plut., *Ant.* 2: 'from which he contracted a debt severe and far beyond his time of life—a debt of 250 talents.' These matters Velleius had in mind when he wrote II. 48: *C. Curio . . . suae alienaeque et fortunae et pudicitiae prodigus.* **intercessisse**: sc. as *fideiussor in stipulatione* the father Curio had the technical civil right to disavow this transaction of his son.

**555. desiderium tui discidii ferre**: it is not necessary to read *discissi:*

*yearning caused by the separation from you.* For a different Gen., cf. *de Dom.* 96: *deflevi coniugis miserae discidium.*

§46. 556. **florentissimae**: *distinguished;* C. Scribonius Curio was tr. pl. in 90, consul 76, and later *triumphator:* the Scribonii were noted in public life from 250 B.C. on.

558. **dissolveret**: *discharge;* properly, *to dissolve the incidental obligation;* and so Plut., *Ant.* 2. **summa spe et animi et ingenii**: cf. *Brut.*, 280: *ita facile soluteque verbis volvebat satis interdum acutas...sententias, ut nihil posset ornatius esse, nihil expeditius, atque hic parum a magistris institutus naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum.*

563. **maledictis me provocare**: cf. above, §1 (l. 11): *ultro me maledictis lacessisti.*

§47. 565. **eo liberior**: 'you cannot defile your mouth if you try.' **in te admisisti**: *have committed;* lit. 'laid yourself open to charges.' Cf. Caes., *B. G.* VII. 38: *nefarium facinus admittere; ib.* IV. 25: *tantum dedecus.*

566. **a verecundo inimico audire non posses**: similarly of Dolabella, *Phil.* XI. 9: *ea libidinum turpitudo ut in hoc sit semper laetatus, quod ea faceret, quae sibi obici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecundo. Verecundus* (vereor, αἰδέομαι) is a congener of αἰδώς, and survives in Ital. *vergogna* (*verecundia*).

567. **celeriter perstringam**: *traverse, pass over, touch upon;* lit. 'running over a surface' (*strigilis:* scraper); cf. *Verr.* IV. 105: *breviter perstringam atrocitatem criminis; Cluent.* 29: *breviter strictimque dicuntur.*

569. **ad ea . . . festinat animus**: cf. *Phil.* I. 3: *ad singulare...M. Antoni factum festinat oratio; Phil.* V. 38: *ad maiora properat oratio.*

570. **multo notiora vobis**: because Cicero had left Rome soon after March 17, 44, and had returned only August 31, nineteen days before the fictitious date of *Phil.* II.

571. **ut facitis**: adds to the liveliness of the dramatic fiction: cf. *Cluent.* 156: *vos attenditis et auditis silentio sicut facere debetis; Planc.* 98: *audi atque attende.*

573. **incidamus**: *cut short, contract:* this sense of *incido* is without parallel in Cicero's philosophical writings and orations; but it is found in *Quint. Fratr.* III. 1, 11: *Poēma ad Caesarem, quod institui, incidi.*

§48. 575. **in tribunatu**: sc. that of Clodius, from December 10, 59, to December 10, 58 B.C. **qui sua erga me beneficia**: (save the mark!): i.e. how can a man who helped Clodius in the most disastrous year of my life pretend that he was or is—a friend of mine? *Qui* has as antecedent *Antonius* understood.

**576. incendiorum fax:** *ready tool for his revolutionary measures.* Cf. *Phil.* XI. 10 (of Lucius Antony): *quam facem...quod facinus, quod scelus.*

**577. domi iam tum quiddam molitus:** Manutius took it as referring to some early intrigue with Fulvia. **quid dicam:** *what I mean;* cf. λέγειν.

**578. iter Alexandream:** see Note on *Narbone reditus*, §76 (l. 909). This was in 57: Antony (about 26 years of age) attached himself to Gabinius, proconsul of Syria (cons. 58), as commander of the cavalry; Ptolemaeus XI Auletes offered to Gabinius, as inducement for his military restoration to the throne of Egypt, the sum of 10,000 talents. Ptolemy had previously, in Caesar's consulate (59), been recognized as king of Egypt. In January, 56, the Sibylline books were 'inspected' as to the question of Ptolemy's restoration. The actual S. C. which followed was this (*Quint. fratr.* II. 2, 3): *De rege Alexandrino factum est senatus consultum, cum multitudine* (i.e. *exercitu iusto*) *eum reducere periculosum rei publicae videri.* Cf. Lange, *Röm. Alter.* III. 321.

**583. suam enim quisque domum tum:** a sting is here intended: *not as now;* when many eminent men have lost their homes through Caesar and through Antony.

**585. in tuo:** neuter. **unum Misenum:** probably in reality a neuter adjective corresponding to Puteolanum, Cumanum, etc.

**586. tamquam Sisaponem:** according to Strabo, III. 142, Sisapo was in Spain, in northern Baetica, between Baetis and Anas, and noted for its mines of silver and cinnabar; now Almaden. These mines were worked by stock companies or corporations—*societas, socii,* as Pliny calls them, *N. H.* XXXIII. 8, 40, 119 (Garatoni). The course of the comparison is this: the (villa at) Misenum is not your private property; you merely *own shares in it:* your creditors hold the other shares. Manutius, who failed to understand the passage, evolved out of his inner consciousness this explanation: *cum probro dictum, quasi civitatem vitiis infamem et luxu perditam,* but Turnebus understood it: *Antonium non unum possessorem Miseni fuisse, sed possessionis socios habuisse multos.* Cf. *ius metallorum,* Suet., *Tib.* 49.

§49. **588. ad parentem tuam:** i.e. Julia.

**589. satis fieri:** to consent to accept Antony's 'satisfactio' or 'purgatio' for having helped Clodius in 58.

**590. ne loqui quidem:** *not even to open your mouth.*

**591. observatus:** *ornatus,* the reading of Ursinus from the Vatican *ornatus* is not bad in itself, but would imply greater active support and electioneering on Cicero's part than is likely. It was in 53.

**595. nisi illum interfecisses:** Oratio Obliqua for *nisi illum interfecero.*

**597. demiror**: *greatly wonder, marvel:* the word occurs four times in the orations. It is characteristic of early comedy.

**600. ad tuam gloriam**: and so *Mil.* 40; *cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebris abdidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem nulla sua invidia, M. vero Antoni maxima gloria!*

§50. **602. sine . . . lege**: the competence of provincial quaestors was mainly in the domain of financial administration: Caesar, of course, had such a one, but only *one*, and it is clear that he had other use for Antony, whose promptness, resourcefulness, and courage on Gabinius' staff (see Plut.) could not have remained unknown to the foremost politician of Rome. Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II. p. 550. Regularly every proconsul or propraetor had but *one* quaestor: as there was one *praetorium*, so there was but one *quaestorium* in every camp. Antonius was a *legatus* of Caesar before Alesia (*B. G.* VII. 81).

**604. perditis vitae rationibus**: *as your career was ruined;* or, 'as your conduct had been one leading to ruin.' For similar phrases, cf. *pro Caelio*, 6: *meus hic forensis labor vitaeque ratio dimanavit ad existimationem hominum; Cluent.* 42: *instituere rationem vitae.*

**605. illius largitionibus**: this was not only very common, but also a very essential means of Caesar for strengthening his following. Curio's case is familiar. Trebatius, also, when he sought introduction to Caesar from Cicero during the Gallic War, was looking for a fortune in Gaul.

**607. advolasti egens ad tribunatum**: beginning his year of office on December 10, 50 B.C.: the incidental personal immunity afforded by the tribunate was also important to a debtor. Cf. *Sest.* 18: *ne in Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni tamquam freto ad columnam adhaeresceret, in tribunatus portum perfugerat.*

**608. viri tui**: i.e. Curio the younger; cf. §44 (l. 540). Catiline is called a *vir* of Gabinius, *p. red. in sen.* 12. **similis**: sc. as a paid tool of Caesar's ambition.

**611. in nos . . . universam rem publicam**: as to the identification of Cicero's career with the fate of constitutional government at Rome, cf. Note on §1 above; also, *de Dom.* 141: *res vero publica quamquam erat exterminata mecum.*

§51. **614. L. Lentulo . . . consulibus**: i.e. 49 B.C.; their full names were C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus. The Senate did not assume an impartial attitude between Pompey and Caesar, but a partisan one, favoring Pompey.

**615. rem publicam fulcire**: the opposite is *praecipitare;* cf. *Sest.* 25: *praecipitanti patriae non subvenirent; Sulla* 87: *rei publicae praecipitanti subveni.*

617. **venditum atque emancipatum**: as shown by his *intercessio* on January 1, 2, etc., 49; cf. below, §52: *vendita atque addicta sententia; mancipatum*, 'conveyed, alienated,' would be a much better reading, and has been adopted by some critics. If *emancipatum* is read, it must be understood in the old civil law meaning, which does not differ essentially from *mancipare*. Cf. *res mancipi*, *res nec mancipi*.

619. **multi**: he means the Gracchi, Saturninus, Sulpicius, etc.

621. **nondum tot luminibus extinctis**: the reference as to the massacres of 49, 48, 46, 45 B.C. Cf. above, §37.

622. **decerni est solitum**: i.e. the *senatus consultum ultimum*, declared on January 6. Cf. Caes., *B. C.* I. 5: *dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique proconsules sunt ad urbem* [this included Pompey and Cicero] *ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat*; also, *Fam.* XVI. 11.

624. **hostis . . . iudicatus**: i.e. both Antony and Cassius Longinus were expelled from the Senate; *curia foroque prohibiti*, Caes., *B. C.* I. 5; ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ διεγράφησαν, Dio Cass. XLI. 3.

626. **dum genus hominum dum populi Romani nomen**: fine instance of πάθος: we are reminded of Horace's noble lines, *Carm.* III. 30, 7.

Usque ego postera
Crescam laude recens dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.

628. **tua**: emphatically placed; predicative with *nominabitur*. As for the *intercessio* itself, Cicero's abstract judgment, uttered some years before, is pertinent: *nam ex pertinacia aut constantia intercessoris oritur saepe seditio*, *Sest.* 77.

§52. 630. **adulescens**: exaggeration for contrast; he was thirty-three.

631. **neque semel sed saepius**: between the first to the sixth of January, 49, the Senate met four times. **tu tecum agi**: namely, either to withdraw the *intercessio*, or to have the same made the subject of debate.

632. **agebatur**: *was at stake;* with a characteristic play on words with preceding *agi*.

634. **principes . . . monendo**: observe the graceful balancing of the members (κῶλα).

635. **frequens senatus**: a fully attended Senate of that time meant an assembly of some four hundred members; cf. *Att.* I. 14, 5. In 57 B.C. *vos frequentissimos* meant four hundred and seventeen. **vendita atque addicta sententia**: *addicere* is used properly of the

verdict of a court adjudging the title of property. Cf. *Phil.* v. 33: *libidini cuiusque nos ita addixit;* also, above, §51 (l. 617): *venditum atque (e)mancipatum tribunatum.*

§53. 640. **quae non effugisses**: at the time of the events themselves (January, 49), Cicero took a less sombre view of them: cf. *Fam.* XVI. 11, 2: *Antonius quidem noster et A. Cassius nulla vi expulsi ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant.* **belli contra patriam inferendi**: *inferre contra* is an odd phrase: Müller would either eliminate *contra p.* and substitute *patriae,* or change *inferendi* to *gerendi.*

644. **dicebat**: Caesar, as a politician and political writer, possessed in an uncommon degree the faculty of putting his adversaries in the wrong. **causam sui dementissimi consilii**: thus Cicero wrote when *libere dicere* was possible, in the autumn of 44: with which compare what he wrote to the great jurist, Sulpicius Rufus, in April (February), 49 (*Fam.* IV. 2, 3, sq.): *ergo aut probare oportet ea quae fiunt, aut interesse* (e.g. by appearing in the curia) *etiam si non probes; quorum altera mihi turpis, altera etiam periculosa ratio videtur. Restat ut discedendum putem.*

648. **omnino nulla causa iusta ... arma capiendi**: cf. what Cicero wrote during the events themselves (*Att.* VII. 11, 1): *atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. Ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas? num honestum igitur habere exercitum nullo publico consilio?*

650. **in persona tua constitisse**: *depended on you personally;* an exaggeration, of course.

§54. 652. **hoc ... hoc ... huius rei**: characteristic *amplification* of a single idea.

653. **posteritatem**: the word in itself is not necessarily unlimited and vast: cf. e.g. *Cat.* I. 22: *quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus...at in posteritatem* (within Cicero's own life) *impendeat.*

654. **saeculorum**: *ages:* cf. *Marcell.* 28: *vigebit memoria saeculorum omnium. Sae-culum,* according to Vaniček, has the same stem as *se-men:* hence, *seed, crop, generation.*

656. **per valetudinem**: *as far as their health permitted:* some were very old, of course, and too frail to risk such expatriation.

658. **magnam partem senatus**: according to Dio Cass., XLI. 43, there were some 200 senators at Thessalonica; Plut., *Pomp.* 64, exaggerates the number: 'the number of men of the ruling class from Rome about him was that of a full-numbered (?) senate.'

659. **subolem iuventutis**: sc. of the equestrian class, out of which, through quaestor-elections, the Senate was perennially recruited; cf.

Plut. *ib.*: 'and members of the equestrian class, the flower of Rome and Italy, six thousand.'

**660. expulsam atque exterminatam**: another doublet: see Note on §37 (l. 451) above.

§55. **662. huius . . . belli**: this ended only in the preceding year at Munda: and may have been still smouldering, as Sext. Pompey had not yet consented to become a private person. **tris**: at Pharsalus 48, Thapsus 46, Munda 45.

**663. interfecit—eripuit—adflixit**: observe the forceful balancing of clauses.

**664. desideratis**: *you miss.*

**668. Ut Helena**: Plutarch refers to the present passage, *Ant.* 6: 'Therefore Cicero also wrote in the Philippics that of the Trojan war Helen and of the civil war Antony caused the beginning, uttering a palpable falsehood.' Of course, Cicero knew that Caesar's long-cherished ambition was the cause; cf. §116 (l. 1396), below: *multos annos regnare meditatus.*

**672. scelus in scelere**: *crime on crime;* 'Verbrechen auf Verbrechen.'

§56. **673. calamitosos**: i.e. men who had gone into exile under a verdict of guilty: the word was a current euphemism of political phraseology.

**674. patrui**: i.e. Cicero's colleague of 63, who had gone into exile after conviction on a charge of extortion (*repetundarum*).

**676. de alea condemnatum**: gambling for money was forbidden, in accordance with those social ideas of the Roman people from which their sumptuary legislation sprang. Ulpian, *Digest.* XI. 5, 1, from the Praetorian Edict says: *siquis eum, apud quem alea lusum esse dicetur, verberaverit, damnumve ei dederit sive quid eo tempore dolo eius subtractum est, iudicium non dabo.* In *Dig.* XI. 5, 3, are mentioned a *lex Cornelia, Publilia, Titia,* of the details of which the editors of *Indices Legum*, as Orelli and Pauly, have not been able to find out anything. Pauly, s.v. *lex* (*Alearia*), p. 960, says: 'how the law ran cannot be stated, for it is very uncertain whether the *lex Titia, Publilia,* and *Cornelia,* which are mentioned in l. 3, *Dig.* XI. 5, contained any prohibition of gambling.'

**680. absentem . . . in reos relatum**: *indicted in his absence.*

**681. rem indicta causa iudicatam**: *verdict rendered without a trial.*

**682. iudicium**: the jury; on its composition, see Asconius *in Milonianam.*

**685. quoniam . . . ita**: observe the unusual introduction of the apodosis of causal structure by *ita;* Mayor renders: *in that case.* I fail to find this correlative noted in Hand-Tursellinus on *ita.*

**687. vel in foro**: i.e. in the very focus of greatest publicity; there were, however, games, it seems, carried on there, such as did not fall under the ban of the law. In the lateral naves of the *Basilica Iulia* (on the upper northwest side of the Forum) the ground floor is paved with slabs of marble, on which many circles were scratched by visitors; these served for some game of drafts or checkers.

**689. studium suum ipse profitetur**: in *Cat.* II. 23 the *aleatores* are ranged with the *adulteri impuri impudicique;* in *Phil.* VIII. 26, with *mimi* and *lenones*. Cf. *Phil.* III. 35. In the intimate language of a letter to Atticus, of April 11, 44 (*Att.* XIV. 5), Antony is simply referred to as 'The Gambler': *ab aleatore φυρμὸς πολύς.*

§57. **690. Caesar in Hispaniam**: viz. in 49, to dispose of Pompey's Spanish forces; Caesar left in April of the uncorrected calendar (many days ahead of solar year). Cf. Appian, *B. C.* II. 41: he had put Aemilius Lepidus in charge of the capital, and Italy and the forces in it in charge of the tribune of the people, Mark Antony.

**691. conculcandam**: lit. *to trample upon*: 'work his sweet will upon Italy.' Cf. *Vatin.* 23: *sanctissimas leges...solus conculcaris ac pro nihilo putaris; proterere* is synonymous in *Flacc.* 53. Cicero (*Att.* X. 10) quotes a brief note from Antony of that time, which he claims to have been composed by Antony among his cups (παροινικῶς).

**692. lustratio municipiorum**: in the spring of 49 the leading men of Neapolis, Cumae, etc., were summoned to attend Antony at his estate at Misenum, but were treated with contempt (*Att.* X. 13).

**696. qui non fui**: exaggeration. Cicero witnessed the events just related (*Att.* X. 13) himself and set sail from Gaieta on June 7 (by uncorrected calendar) to join Pompey (*Fam.* XIV. 7). Much of Antony's sensational touring in Italy took place before Cicero left the peninsula.

§58. **700. in essedo tribunus pl.**: this must have struck a Roman citizen of 49 as grossly incongruous; not so much on account of the mode of travel, as that a Tribunus Plebis should travel at all. Cf. Madvig, *Verfass. u. Verwalt. des Röm. Staates*, I. p. 462: 'in the capital they (the trib. pl.) should always be present and accessible, that they might control the events of public life and render aid; they were not permitted, therefore, to pass the night outside of the city (*abnoctare*, Gell. XIII. 12, etc.)'; cf. also *Legg.* III. 3, 9: *sanctique sunto neve plebem orbam tribunis relinquunto.*

**701. aperta lectica**: this took place about March 13 (solar year). Cicero wrote to Atticus on that date (May 3–March 13): *Hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxorem* (like an Oriental despot) *septem praeterea coniunctae lecticae amicarum sunt an*

*amicorum.* **mima portabatur, quam . . . Volumniam**: the notorious actress Cytheris, as the *liberta* of Antony's boon companion, P. Volumnius, called Εὐτράπελος (from his ready wit). She had the civil right to the name *Volumnia.* In October, 46 (*Fam.* IX. 26, 2), Cicero himself attended a dinner party at the house of this *viveur;* he, in a manner, apologizes for the fact that Cytheris was herself of the company: *non mehercule suspicatus sum illam adfore.* Cf. also Plut., *Ant.* 9: 'And Cytheris, an unprotected female from the same sort of training, who was the object of his passion, whom he carried about with himself in a lectica when visiting the cities, and her lectica was followed by not a smaller number of attendants than that of his mother.'

**704. raeda cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi**: anacoluthon; one would expect *comitibus;* but it is a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν: *a wagon-load of pimps, a precious pack of scoundrels indeed!*

**707. fecunditatem calamitosam**: what Cicero really suggests is this: 'to think that Julia has not less than two other sons besides, just as profligate and worthless as Marcus; viz., Lucius and Gaius.' Cf. *Phil.* XII. 17–18; on Lucius, cf. particularly *Phil.* VI. 10–15; on Gaius, *Phil.* VII. 3 (*illa fax*); *Phil.* X. 5: *permitto ut de tribus Antoniis eligas quem velis. 'Di meliora!' inquies; Phil.* XI. 36: (*Antonios*) *Romani nominis probra atque dedecora.*

**708. vestigiis . . . impressit**: *imprinted upon: left the imprint;* in a laudatory way; cf. *Balb.* 13: *qui . . . locus, in quo non extent huius cum fortitudinis tum vero humanitatis . . . impressa vestigia.*

**§59. 710. difficilis et lubrica** (*risky*): 'you cannot censure his military achievements under Caesar without bringing down upon yourself the ill-will of the veterans'; see below, l. 714.

**711. bello**: viz. at Pharsalus, 48 B.C.

**713. saturavit se sanguine . . . civium**: cf. *Phil.* XIII. 4: *o fidam dexteram Antoni, qua ille plurimos civis trucidavit.*

**714. veteranis**: Cicero realized this, to him, intensely uncongenial factor of power, as even the most shallow politician could not help doing, two days after the Ides of March. Cf. *Fam.* XI. 1: *adeo esse militum concitatos animos*; *Phil.* XI. 38: *Quorum igitur veteranorum animos ne offendamus veremur; ibid.: quousque sententias dicemus veteranorum arbitratu? Phil.* X. 18: *quae, malum, est ista ratio semper optimis causis veteranorum nomen opponere.*

**718. Ibi me non occidisti**: on the whole matter, cf. *Att.* XI. 7 (December 17, 48—October 27, solar year): 'Yet why should I speak of the lictors, when I myself was almost ordered to leave Italy? For Antony sent to me a copy of Caesar's letter to him, in which Caesar stated that

he had heard that Cato and L. Metellus had come to Italy, to appear openly at Rome. He did not like that, for fear that some disturbance might arise from it, and that he wanted every one kept out of Italy, except those whose cases he had personally considered ; about this he wrote in very strong terms. So Antony asked of me by letter to pardon him ; but he had to obey Caesar's letter. Then I sent L. Lamia to him, to point out to him that Caesar had told Dolabella to write to me to return to Italy at the earliest moment ; that I had come on account of that letter. Then he published an edict, exempting Laelius and myself by name.'

§60. 724. **sed fac**: *assume, suppose* (sc. for the sake of argument). **sit erepta**: observe the graceful variation of the one idea in the two pairs of symmetrical clauses (*amplificatio*). It is this fulness which Brutus and Calvus censured in Cicero. Some examples are: *de har. resp.* 4 : *prospexi quanta tempestas excitaretur, quanta impenderet procella reipublicae; Sest.* 138 : *qui se vitiorum inlecebris et cupiditatium lenociniis dediderunt; Vatin.* 19 : *non labefactatam rem publicam...neque conquassatam civitatem; de prov. cons.* 5 : *exercitus noster ille superbissimo dilectu et durissima conquisitione conlectus; Balb.* 59: *ab hoc impari certamine atque iniusta contentione avocabat; Ligar.* 30: *delicti veniam peto, ut ignoscatur oro.*

§61. 729. **tuae mimulae**: Cytheris—Volumnia.

732. **Quis enim miles**: Cobet, citing Plut., *Ant.* 4, 14, argues that most likely the soldiers were far from being shocked. To understand Cicero's point, we must remember that it was considered unbecoming in a commander (it was even forbidden under the *mos maiorum*) to be accompanied in the camp even by his legal wife; cf. *Phil.* v. 22: *uxoris suae quam secum gravis* (ironical) *imperator ad exercitum duxerat.* Antony belonged to the boisterous and brutal class of emancipated Romans of his generation, Caesar to the philosophical class of emancipated and literary Epicureans. Antony's genius kept developing towards the earlier Alcibiades type and the later Alexander type. It stirred him pleasantly to trample upon the conventional precepts of life, but he did not relish any monitor. This was the stuff out of which, later on, Caligulas and Neros were made.

§62. 737. **militum . . . deductio**: *quartering of soldiers ;* Merguet seems to have overlooked this specific sense of *deductio.*

739. **Caesare ignaro . . . magister equitum**: i.e. in Caesar's second dictatorship ; this, according to Lange, was not the old one of six months' statutory duration, but when he was *dictator rei publicae constituendae.* The augurs did, indeed, attempt to apply the limitation to Antony as *magister equitum.* **Caesare ignaro**: this is very im-

probable, for the magister equitum was the personal appointee of the dictator.

**741. cum Hippia vivere**: i.e. *eum convivam habere.* **equos vectigalis**: horses that constituted a part of the revenue, brought probably from Gaul, whose breed of horses was noted. The state accepted bids from those who purchased horses for games; for according to Livy, XXIV. 18, *curules equi* were let by the censor to the highest bidder. Some form of contract monopoly is here understood, which went to another favorite and parasite.

**742. Sergio mimo**: perhaps a libertus of Catiline.

**744. hereditatum possessiones datas**: did Antony as magister equitum exercise (usurp, in Cicero's mind) the functions of the *praetor urbanus? Bonorum possessio* (comparable to the probating of a will in our courts) was regularly granted by the praetor urbanus to those heirs who decided to take, if he considered their testamentary or statutory title as valid. As a matter of fact, after the violent contentions between Caelius and Dolabella on the one side and Trebellius on the other, involving radical debt-legislation and reductions of rents, the current administration of civil law in Rome had practically ceased. Cf. Lange, *Röm. Alt.* III. p. 431.

**749. repentinus heres**: a kind of heir entirely novel and hitherto unknown to the categories of the civil law, such as, the *heres necessarius, suus, legitimus, extraneus*, etc. **vivendum**: i.e. *victus erat ei parandus.*

**750. ritu**: this word occurs only once again in orations, viz. *de Dom.* 132: *quibusnam verbis aut quo ritu...domum consecrares;* but cf. *Lael.* 32: *qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt.*

**§63. 753. istis faucibus**: Quintilian, VIII. 4, 16, says: 'obiecturus Antonio Cicero merum (ebrietatem) et vomitum, *Tu*, inquit, *istis faucibus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate.* Quid fauces et latera ad ebrietatem? Minime sunt otiosa. Nam respicientes ad haec possumus aestimare quantum ille vini in Hippiae nuptiis quod ferre et concoquere non possit illa corporis gladiatoria firmitate.' Cf. Plut., *Ant.* 9, on this public scene, with the added item: 'some one of his friends having spread his toga under (his mouth)'; also Plut., *Ant.* 4: 'there was also an ancient tradition that the Antonii were descended from Hercules.' Appian, *B. C.* III. 16: 'if he knew that you would be willing to become a descendant of Æneas instead of a descendant of Hercules.'

**755. in populi Romani conspectu**: i.e. *in porticu Minucia*, §84 (l. 1013).

**759. in coetu populi Romani**: Quintilian illustrates from this passage

the figure of Climax, VIII. 4, 8: 'Crescit oratio minus aperte sed nescio an hoc ipso efficacius cum citra distinctionem (*without punctuation*) in contextu et cursu semper aliquid priore maius insequitur: ut de vomitu in Antonium Cicero: *In coetu vero populi Romani negotium gerens magister equitum.* Singula incrementa habent. Per se deforme vel non in *coetu* vomere, in coetu etiam non *populi*, populi etiam non *Romani*, vel si nullum *negotium* ageret, vel si non *publicum*, vel si non *magister equitum.*'

**762. esse in suis sordibus**: *belong to* (the category of) *his ignoble foibles*; cf. *Phil.* I. 20: *sordis suas eluere. Sordes* is also, as here, opposed to *splendor*, *Vatin.* 13; *Sest.* 60; synonymous with *squalor*, *p. red. ad Quirit.* 8; *Cluent.* 18; with *caenum*, *Pis.* 72.

§**64. 764. se recepit**: i.e. in 47, after having settled Egypt on Cleopatra. **felix ut sibi quidem videbatur, mea autem sententia**: even before Caesar actually crossed the Rubicon, Cicero, on January 19, 49 (November 29, 48, solar year), penned these memorable words, speaking of Caesar (*Att.* VII. 11): *O hominem amentem et miserum qui ne umbram quidem umquam τοῦ καλοῦ viderit! atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. Ubi est autem dignitas, nisi ubi honestas? ...Sibi habeat suam fortunam...*; and on September 2, 44 (*Phil.* I. 35): *beatus est nemo qui ea lege vivit ut non modo impune sed etiam eum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit; ibid.* 27 (of Antony): *in hac sua fortuna, quae bona ipsi videtur...*

**766. hasta posita**: i.e. to advertise the auction. The spear (*hasta*) was possibly a symbolic remnant from selling loot in the camp of the earliest Romans. At this time it actually was the symbol of property transfer or conveyance; cf. Gaius, *Instit.* IV. 16: *Festuca—quasi hastae loco, signo quodam iusti dominii.*

**768. bona ... voci acerbissimae praeconis**: *the rasping voice of the auctioneer* who acted for the quaestor.

**776. sectionis**: *auction* of confiscated property (also of loot in camp); the quaestor gave title to the highest bidder. **scelus sectionis**: *felonious auction.*

§**65. 779. furor**: *insanity.*

**780. isto loco natus**: *of that social class to which you belong.* **Pompei sector**: *bidder on Pompey's estate*; cf. *Phil.* XIII. 30: *utrum igitur aequius, utrum melius rei publicae fuit, Cn. Pompeium an sectorem Cn. Pompei vivere, Antonium.*

**783. statim**: 'he had no delicacy whatsoever.'

**784. invasit**: Cicero again uses this term *usurpation*, although Antony had a legal title from the government.

**786. ingurgitasset**: *plunge into*; lit. 'enter a whirlpool, dive danger-

ously and recklessly.' This word occurs only once again in Cicero, viz. *Pis.* 42: *numquam te in tot flagitia ingurgitasses.* A reversal of public events, a new civil war, might make Antony's title very precarious.

**787. persona de mimo**: (like) *a character from the Mimus*, as though on the stage, where such radical mutations are accomplished in a moment; thus it was with Antony. Observe that this was the age of Laberius, of Syrus.

**788. apud poetam nescio quem**: a reminiscence probably from Naevius; cf. Ribbeck, *Incert. Nom. Reliqq.*, Festus, p. 222, and what Ribbeck cites; also *Phil.* XIII. 49: '*Prius undis flamma*' *ut ait poeta nescio quis.*

**§66. 790. simile portenti**: *portentum*, lit. a 'foreshadowing,' viz. on the part of the Gods; hence a monstrous, ill-boding 'freak of nature,' closely related to *ostentum, monstrum, prodigium*; cf. Cic., *N. D.* II. 7; Vaniček, p. 273.

**790. illa tam multa . . . effuderit**: cf. *Phil.* XIII. 11: *nam argentum, vestem, supellectilem vinum amittet* (*Sex. Pompeius*) *aequo animo, quae ille helluo dissipavit.*

**792. vini numerus**: *numerus* refers originally to units of measurement; cf. Caes., *B. G.* VII. 38: *numerus frumenti.*

**793. lauta supellex**: the luxury of silver tables in the generation of Gaius Gracchus even is noted by Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* 2: ὅτε δέλφικας ἀργυροῦς ἐπρίατο τιμῆς εἰς ἑκάστην λίτραν δραχμῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων πεντήκοντα.

**794. hominis . . . abundantis**: Drumann, IV. p. 541, translates: 'Alles verrieth Überfluss, nichts Schwelgerei.'

**§67. 795. Quae Charybdis**, etc.: The rhetor Triarius in the elder Seneca (*Suasor.* VI. 5) quotes the passage from memory, thus: *Quae Charybdis est tam vorax? Charybdim dixi, quae si fuit, animal unum fuit; vix medius fidius tot res tamque diversas uno tempore absorbere potuisset.* Cf. Dio Cass., XLVI. 14: πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκτήσατο καταναλώσας ὥσπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις.

**800. apothecae**: *storerooms* were repositories for current use of wines, but not identical with the vaults below, *cellae vinariae*; they were often placed above the baths, because it was believed that smoke aided the aging of wine; cf. Columella, I. 6, 20: *Apothecae recte superponentur his locis unde plerumque fumus exoritur quoniam vina celerius vetustescunt quae fumi quodam tenore praecoquem maturitatem trahunt*; also Becker, *Gallus*, III. p. 234–35.

**803. totos dies potabatur**: cf. Hor., *Carm.* I. 1, 19: *est qui nec veteris pocula Massici nec partem solido demere de die spernit.*

**804. locis pluribus:** not merely in the cenaculum. (The phrase is peculiar to Varro.) **suggerebantur . . . damna aleatoria:** gambling losses were imperceptibly brought forward, i.e. introduced, as important items in the loss-account of domestic economy. It would seem that items of domestic equipment—furniture, bronzes, etc.—were sometimes staked by Antony in his gaming passion; *suggero* occurs only here in Cicero.

**805. conchyliatis peristromatis:** *purple-dyed coverlets;* covers, bed-spreads.

**805. servorum in cellis:** these were the smallest and meanest apartments in a normal establishment.

§68. **810. ingredi . . . intrare . . . ostendere:** iteration of thought in three clauses (*amplificatio*).

**812. dis penatibus:** 'Penates is properly only an adjective, to which *dei* is most naturally supplied' (Jordan); cf. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.* I. p. 82 (1881); also, *Dis Manibus* and *immanis.*

**814. sine lacrimis praeterire:** cf. *Phil.* XIII. 10: *sed haec satis diu multumque defleta sunt.*

**815. deversari:** used of the mere temporary sojourn of the traveller: 'you are merely a *lodger,* it is not your own.'

**817. rostra:** these were, no doubt, memorials of his great operations against the pirates in 67 B.C. **cum aspexisti:** *whenever you behold;* note the characteristic Roman precision in expressing the sequence of action.

**821. mente consistere:** *to enjoy intellectual equipoise—mental balance;* cf. *de Dom.* 139: *ageret illam rem ita raptim et turbulente ut neque mens neque lingua consisterent;* opposed in the same passage to *mente ac lingua titubante.* The phrase *mente consistere* does not seem to occur again in the orations or in the philosophical works.

**824. furere etiam saepe vigilantem:** *be subject to spells of insanity even in your waking hours;* perhaps *saepe etiam* should be read.

§69. **826. nisi pudicum:** cf. Plut., *Pomp.* 2, 5: οὕτω . . . πάνυ πόρρωθεν εὐλαβὴς ὢν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πεφυλαγμένος.

**827. more . . . disciplina:** *custom . . . tradition.*

**831. popinae:** a vulgar common eating and drinking *taberna* where every one had access, in striking contrast with the highbred aristocracy of the previous owner; cf. *Pis.* 18: *si illae epulae potius quam popinae nominandae sunt; ex tenebricosa popina.* So in modern Italian the *osteria.*

**832. mimulam:** *his precious baggage of an actress.*

**833. suas res sibi habere:** this is the technical phrase of a husband divorcing his wife; cf. Gaius, *Dig.* XXIV. 2, 2, 1: *in repudiis autem,*

*id est renuntiatione, comprobata sunt haec verba: 'tuas res tibi habeto!'* **ex duodecim tabulis** (451–49 B.C.): *in accordance with the requirements of the Twelve Tables:* the whole passage is full of mock gravity.

§**70. 836. quam crebro usurpat**: *how frequently he chooses the phrase;* probably Cicero had a copy of Antony's speech of September 19, 44 B.C., before him as he wrote. In any case, this is one of the many little turns designed to maintain the dramatic fiction of an immediate reply on the same day.

**840. avus tuus**: the orator (143–87 B.C.); consul 99, censor 97. It is relevant in contrast with his grandson's life and morals to recall that he and his colleague: *Duronium senatu moverunt quod legem de coercendis conviviorum sumptibus latam tribunus plebis abrogaverat* (Val. Max., II. 9, 5).

**843. partium**: here probably *party*, while immediately below *partis tuas* is *your personal rôle;* by the use of *partium*, Antony is clearly designated as sharing the responsibility of *rem publicam vexare* with others, whereas the outbreak of the civil war was a particular personal performance of Antony's. To use the same word in rapid succession with an adroit change in meaning is one of the minor characteristics of Cicero's manner.

§**71. 845. natum, conflatum, susceptum**: observe the climax.

**847. propter timiditatem**: of course Cicero did not believe this himself, it was merely one pin-prick more; Dio Cass., XLVI. 15: 'taunting him with cowardice.'

**848. gustaras . . . exorbueras**: the extremes are contrasted: *to taste, to lap up*, as those drink who use their mouth alone; cf. ῥοφεῖν; *libare, lingere;* also *Vat.* 6: *sanguinem principum civitatis exsorbere;* in *Phil.* XI. 10 there are grouped together *sorbere, haurire, bibere.*

**849. antesignanos**: in Caesar's time the *antesignani* were the *élite* of the troops; cf. Caesar, *B. C.* I. 57: *electos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros, antesignanos, centuriones, Caesar ei classi adtribuerat.* **L. Domitium**: i.e. Ahenobarbus.

**851. e proelio**: cf. Plut., *Ant.* 8: 'the command of the left wing he gave to Antony, as having the best military talents of his immediate followers.'

**854. in Africam**: in January, 46.

**857. imperatoris quaestor . . . socius**: notice the forcefully contrasted pairs. It has been shown above that Caesar did *not* really use Antonius as his quaestor in Gaul; this cumulation in Cicero's characteristic manner emphasizes the closeness and multiplicity of the relations between Caesar and Antonius; and still—Caesar dunned him.

And it is not likely that this did not occur before Caesar's return from the campaign of Thapsus. 'Es scheint aber dass er wegen der Anmassung mit welcher er den Erlass der Kaufsumme als ein Recht forderte, nicht zu Kriegsdiensten eingeladen wurde und sich voll Erbitterung auch nicht darum bewarb,' says Drumann, I. p. 75. Cf. Plut., *Ant.* 10: φησὶν αὐτὸς (Antonius), probably in some speech on Mutinensian war, replying to the Second Philippic, that on this account he did not share in that campaign.

§72. **861. ferociter**: *defiantly.* This was some time after July 25, 46, when Caesar arrived again in Rome.

**865. leges perniciosas**: which Antony brought forward as trib. pl. in 49.—Lange says (*Röm. Alt.* III. 415): 'Caesar enacted no legislation during the six or seven days (early in 49) which he spent in Rome, since, as proconsul, he lacked the warrant. But it is a matter of record that he presented several bills to the people through M. Antonius'; cf. Dio Cass., XLI. 17: 'nominally he proposed and transacted with constitutional procedure—for the majority of them were proposed through Antony—but actually in the fashion of autocratic power.'

**866. imperatoresque**: viz. Pompey and Cicero, from his Cilician campaign.

**870. ius postulabas**: *your claim was a just one: ius* is the inner object.

§73. **872. excussis**: lit. *shaken off;* i.e. ignoring your loud protestations (*vocibus*).

**872. praedes tuos**: *praes* is the guarantor of payment: Vaniček, p. 878, derives it from *prae-vad* (vas); the plural, *prae-vides*, occurs in the *Lex Thoria*, C. I. L., I. 200, 46.

**874. tabulam**: *inventory.*

**875. partem Miseni**: cf. *tamquam Sisaponem*, above, §48 (l. 586).

**877. vestis**: *textile fabrics.*

**879. sordidata mancipia**: *slaves in shabby garb.*

§74. **881. L. Rubrii**: probably identical with L. Rubrius of Casinum, referred to above, §40 (l. 494), whose warm interest—Antonius had never set eyes upon him—for Antonius was somewhat mysterious; perhaps the *sui*, or more likely the *legitimi heredes*, of Rubrius had picked up courage to make Antonius disgorge when they saw him in disfavor with the autocrat.

**882. Haerebat nebulo**: *the windbag was in a quandary.* Cf. *Corpus Glossariorum*, IV. (1889), p. 122: *Nebulones:* praestigiorum nebulis inludentes; Dio Cass., XLVI. 14, claims for Antony that he paid back everything: τὴν τιμὴν πάντων ὧν ἐπρίατο ἀπέδωκεν.

**884. dicebatur**: 'it was common talk'; 'Stadtgespraech'—Drumann, I. p. 75.

**885. in Hispaniam**: probably in December, 46, arriving at the seat of war after January 1, 45.

**887. prorogatis**: *extend*, i.e. *give grace, adjourn payment.*

**888. rudem tam cito**: sc. *postulavit?* cf. Hor., *Ep.* I. 1. The *rudis* (or quarter staff) was the symbol of an *emeritus gladiator*. Antony is often called gladiator outright, e.g. *Phil.* III. 18 (cf. above, §63, l. 753); v. 32; XIII. 25; and particularly VII. 17: *quem gladiatorem non ita appellari ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiator appellari solet.* Antony was also dubbed *Spartacus*, *Phil.* IV. 15; and in his turn, he called Octavian *Spartacus* in his Edicts, *Phil.* IV. 15; and Cicero, *lanista*, *Phil.* XIII. 40.

§75. **891. aliquando tamen**: *at last*, intimating that Antony should have started long before.

**897. Dolabella**: in the first draft of this treatise, Dolabella was treated honorably, or, to say the least, not in a manner commensurate with his worthlessness: he was Cicero's late son-in-law and had not yet repaid the dowry of Tullia (who had died in 45). Atticus had found fault with the treatment of Dolabella as being too laudatory, hence Cicero (*Att.* XVI. 11), on November 5, 44, wrote: *et de laudibus Dolabellae deruam cumulum. Attamen est isto loco* (evidently the present one) *bella ut mihi videtur* εἰρωνεία *quod eum 'ter contra cives in acie.'*

**898. nollem**: Potential of the Past: cf. *crederes, haud facile discerneres, vellem, mallem*, and see G. 258.

**900. dices**: a suggestion of the present editor for the *quid es?* of the Vatican. Hirschfeld would read *quid audes?* others: *quid censes.*

**901. repetebant**: *were trying to regain;* Imperfect of Attempted Action.

**902. aras, focos, larem**: an amplification of *domum;* cf. *de Dom.* 109: *quid est sanctius...quam domus unius cuiusque civium? hic arae sunt, hic foci, hic di penates.* Also, *ibid.* 106, 143; *Sest.* 145; *Phil.* III. 1; *Cat.* IV. 24.

**903. invaseras**: *which you had usurped;* cf. *helluo invasit*, above, §65 (l. 874); *repentinus heres*, §62 (l. 749).

**905. aequissimum**: i.e. from the standpoint of the civil law, to defend title against the *sui heredes.*

**906. liberos**: *descendants*, even in third degree or further in lineal descent; hence not *filios.*

§76. **909. Narbone reditus**: verbal substantive construed as verb. Cf. *eius iter Brundisium*, *Phil.* v. 22: *iter Alexandream*, *Phil.* II.

48; *introitus Zmyrnam, Phil.* XI. 5. This is a colloquialism found most often in Plautus. **etiam**: i.e. with his remarkable record for unexpected returns (in 45), he *even* had the hardihood to inquire about my own (of August 31, 44), viz. in his speech of September 19, 44.

**910. ex ipso cursu**: Cicero had actually reached Syracuse and further.

**912. etiam ante Kal. Ian.**: i.e. of 43; his original design had been to resume public life with the inauguration of Hirtius and Pansa, January 1, 43.

**914. calceis et toga**: *calceus* was the gentleman's full shoe, used in public, and different from the *solea.* Cf. Becker, *Gallus*, p. 424, and Cic., *Mil.* 28: *domum venit: calceos et vestimenta mutat.* The *calceus* was often decorated with a crescent (*lunula*) of ivory. **Gallicis**: cf. Gell., XIII. 22, 1, 6. Clearly Antony desired to preserve his incognito on that romantic occasion. The *Gallicae* (sc. *soleae*) were tied with round leather thongs. Romance philologists derive Ital. *Galoscia* (galoshes) from *Gallica.* Diez., *Etymol. Wörterb. d. Roman. Sprach.*, translates *Gallica* '*Pantoffel*' (sic !).

**915. lacerna**: an outer covering which could be drawn over the head like a *hood;* the very thing for Antony's incognito. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 9, 28.

> pingues aliquando lacernas
> munimenta togae, duri crassique coloris
> et male percussas textoris pectine Galli
> accipimus....

**916. ne**: the asseverative particle. **mecum in gratiam**: because Antony, in consequence of Cicero's speech of September 2 (the First Philippic), had declared himself the private enemy of Cicero; cf. *Phil.* V. 19: *at ille homo vehemens et violentus, qui hanc consuetudinem libere dicendi excluderet...inimicitias mihi denuntiavit.*

**921. cum consulatus petebatur**: 'when there was a constitutional canvass for the office'; a bitter sally against Caesar's memory. Cf. §10 (l. 134): *quod ita factus est.*

**§77. 925. Saxa Rubra**: on the *via Flaminia*, directly north of Rome, a few miles north of the *Pons Mulvius;* there was a hamlet there. **delituit**: i.e. to maintain his incognito to the end.

**926. perpotavit**: cf. *Verr.* V. 100: *praetore tot dies...perpotante; ib.* 87: *totos dies.* **cisio**: Nonius Marcellus, p. 86, M., defines this as a *vehiculi biroti* (two-wheeled) *genus*, and cites the present passage.

**928. Ianitor**: Cicero drifts into a dramatic form.

**929. eam**: the same reluctance to mention Fulvia outright here as elsewhere; cf. §11 (l. 145), *id domi tuae*, above.

**931. caput**: *main point*, κεφάλαιον, *Hauptsache;* cf. *Verr.* III. 148: *caput defensionis tuae.* **illa mima**: Cytheris.

**932. illim**: the older form of *illinc*, without the emphasizing *-ce*, found from Plautus to Sallust.

**933. in hanc**: i.e. *Fulviam;* as a matter of fact, he was dominated by her in his further ambition and political designs. Cf. *Phil.* VI. 4: *ut mulieri citius avarissimae paruerit quam senatui populoque Romano; Phil.* XIII. 18: *non modo avarissimae sed etiam crudelissimae uxoris;* also *Phil.* II. 95: *in gynaecio;* and Plut., *Ant.* 10.

**934. caput aperuit, in collum invasit**: Plut., *Ant.* 10, who reproduces the whole dramatic scene with considerable literary freedom, ends thus: 'and he silently held out the letter, and when she had begun to open it and to read it he embraced her and smothered her with kisses.'

**936. Catamitum**: i.e. *Ganymedem:* this word passed into Latin through corrupt popular phonetic reproduction, just as Ὀδυσσεύς, through Etruscan or Campanian mediation, was loosely metamorphosed into *Ulysses.* It means, in effect, 'her darling and irresistible lover,' though Forcellini's definition, *pro homine molli atque effeminato* is quite possible; it certainly is not *pathicus*, as Pauly-Wissowa maintains s.v. *Catamitus.*

**938. terrore nocturno**: fear of a proscription to be put at last into operation by Caesar (Drumann). The motive (according to Plut., *Ant.* 10) of the sudden return was to counteract a rumor that Caesar was dead and that the Pompeians were advancing on Italy.

§78. **940. turpiorem**: sc. *causam tam repentini reditus.*

**941. praedes . . . venderet**: i.e. the property of Antony's bondsmen.

**942. rei tuae causa**: *for private and personal reasons of your own;* cf. §3 (l. 27), above: *contra rem suam.* **dicacem in te**: *witty at your expense;* probably something equivocal.

**944. ad maiora veniamus**: this was Cicero's own phrase for marking important sections; cf. similarly §20 (l. 253): *maiora videamus;* §47 (l. 574): *ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus;* §63 (l. 763): *veniamus ad splendidiora;* §84 (l. 1010): *ad Lupercalia veniamus; Phil.* VIII. 14: *ad propiora veniamus.*

**946. isti redisti**: asyndetic correlatives; cf. §89 (l. 1067): *irent redirent.* This was particularly common in legal phraseology, as *aequi boni*, §94 (l. 1122); *usus fructus*, etc.

**948. familiaris**: cf. Plut., *Ant.* 11: 'travelling through Italy in a carriage, he had Antony riding with him.' **habebat hoc**: *this trait.*

**949. quem plane perditum**: still, the purer affection of an Oppius, Matius, Hirtius, or Balbus must not be forgotten. Cicero himself in

Caesar's lifetime, during the Gallic campaigns (when there were many mutual restraints), speaks of Caesar's devotion to his friends. The sweeping view here presented by Cicero is accepted by R. Y. Tyrrell, *Correspondence of Cicero*, III. p. xcv.

§79. **952. consul:** for 44 B.C.

**954. impulsus, inductus, elusus:** *goaded on, led by the nose, tricked;* sc. by Caesar.

**957. intervertit:** *suppressed, withheld;* cf. *de Dom.* 112: *posse se interversa aedilitate...praetorem renuntiari.* **eius:** i.e. *Caesaris.*

**958. Kalendae:** of 44.

**959. in istum:** i.e. Antony.

§80. **962. proficisceretur:** sc. for the Parthian war; cf. Plut., *Ant.* II: ἐβούλετο...τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπάμενος Δολοβέλλᾳ παρεγγυῆσαι. Dolabella had not been praetor, nor did he have the consular age (Lange, *Röm. Alt.* III. 477).

**963. iussurum:** the very word irritates Cicero's constitutional sense to utter the parenthesis which follows.

**965. hic bonus augur:** in Roman usage this epithet *bonus* is often bitter and ironical in such connection. *Bone vir!* in Plautus and Terence often draws an angry answer. **vitiare:** *to render illegal,* i.e. *irregular, faulty;* e.g. by declaring that the precursory or attendant auspices had been tainted by a *vitium.* Cf. *Div.* II. 71: *Id silentium dicimus in auspiciis quod omni vitio caret.*

§81. **969. Quid enim:** *of course:* = τί γάρ in Greek.

**971. nos enim:** Cicero himself was a member of the *Collegium Augurum;* the augurs could not institute *spectio* without official request. **nuntiationem:** properly really *obnuntiatio: nam proprie o b n u n t i a r e dicuntur augures qui aliquid mali ominis scaevumque viderint,* —Donatus on Terence, *Ad.* IV. 2, 8. **spectio:** the right of observation, of taking auspices; i.e. on Comitial days. Cf. Varro, *L. L.* VI. 82: *et quod in auspiciis distributum est, qui habent spectionem, qui non habeant; et quod in auguriis etiam nunc augures dicunt avem s p e c e r e.*

**976. prohibiturum:** it was only on March 17, 44, that Antony officially and positively recognized Dolabella's consular dignity; cf. *Phil.* I. 31: *cum collegam tuum depositis inimicitiis oblitus auspiciorum a te ipso augure populi Romani nuntiatorum illo primum die conlegam tibi esse voluisti.*

**978. de caelo servare:** lit. *watch from the sky;* i.e. phenomena of the sky. The five specifications were: *ex caelo, ex avibus, ex tripudiis, ex quadripedibus, ex diris.*—Paulus Festi, p. 260 M. For details, see *Lex Aelia et Fufia* in Pauly's or Orelli's *Index Legum;*

Clodius' abrogation of these auspices seems to have been treated as void.

**980. comitiis habitis**: Cobet insists upon bracketing *habitis*: 'quid stultius quam obnuntiare *post peracta comitia?*' he says, 'dici solere *Comitiis* ut *gladiatoribus, ludis* ut similia, hic ipse locus demonstrat.' But is not this the very absurdity that Cicero is flaying?

**981. implicata**: *complicated with*, lit. *tangled up with*; cf. *Vat.* 3: *inconstantiam tuam cum levitate tum etiam periurio implicatam.*

§82. **984. adparitor**: *beadle* or *bailiff*, perhaps; lit. *who appears* (when wanted): attendant of magistrate. Cicero, *Verr.* III. 87, speaks of the *apparitores* of a praetor.

**986. in aversam lecticam**: *into the rear end of the lectica*, he walking behind, like a dog.

**987. a collega**: sc. *Caesare.*

**988. comitiorum dies**: Fischer (*Zeittafeln*) does not give the date; for which there appear no very reliable data. Lange (*Röm. Alt.* III. 477) says 'later in March.' **sortitio praerogativae**: lit. *drawing by lot of the* (sc. *centuria*) *which was to vote* (i.e. *be asked*) *first*; the passage has been discussed since Niebuhr's time. Cf. also Marquardt (*Handb. d. Röm. Alt.* II. 3, p. 16), who claims that in this passage Cicero, by *suffragia*, means the VI. *suffragia* (i.e. the VI. patrician centuries of the equites). His words are: 'Die Stelle ist aber jedenfalls *zu unsicher* in kritischer Hinsicht um daranf allein eine Annahme basiren zu können: unter den vielen Verbesserungs-vorschlägen ist der einfachste den nach Garatonis und Zumpt's Vorgang auch Madvig billigt, dass das zweite *renuntiatur* gestrichen wird, wonach dann der Sinn der ganzen Stelle ist: 'Die Praerogativa wird erloost. Er schweigt. Das Resultat wird bekannt gemacht, die erste Klasse wird aufgerufen. Daranf, wie gewöhulich, findet die Abstimmung statt. Dann die zweite Klasse. Nachdem die Sache so gut wie abgemacht ist, ruft er: Alio die.''

§83. **992. C. Laelium**: the friend of Scipio Aemilianus, and one of the bright ideals in Cicero's vision of the political past of Rome; cf. *Nat. Deor.* III. 5. **diceres**: *might have called*, Potential of the Past; cf. *nollem*, § 75 (l. 909). **Alio die**: the augur's official phrase for adjourning all proceedings and incidentally nullifying what has actually taken place; cf. *Legg.* II. 31: *quid gravius quam rem susceptam dirimi, si unus augur 'alio die' dixerit.*

**994. audieras**: e.g. distant thunder, or rising wind foreboding storm.

**998. ementitus es**: *absolutely invented*; cf. *de ementitis auspiciis*, § 88 (l. 1053).

**999. obstrinxisti religione:** *bound by religious scruple;* cf. *Verr.* IV. 113: *tanta religione obstricta tota provincia est.*

**1000. auguri:** Cobet reminds us that by *auguri* Dolabella is meant; by *consuli*, Caesar.

**1001. aliquando:** *some day at last;* implying impatience at the long delay.

**§84. 1004. vitiosus consul Dolabella:** i.e. whose election is tainted with a technical flaw; cf. *Phil.* III. 9: *sed etiam conlega (Dolabella) una ferente eo, quem ipse ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat; Phil.* V. 9: *quem ipse fecit sua nuntiatione vitiosum.*

**1008. augur a collega** (i.e. *Antonio*): still it does not seem that the members were sworn to secrecy or privacy; cf. *Div.* II. 76: *solebat ex me Deiotarus percontari nostri augurii disciplinam, ego ex illo sui. Di immortales! quantum differebat!*

**1010. transiliat:** *pass over;* the word recurs in *Fin.* IV. 39. **ad Lupercalia:** celebrated on February 15. According to Varro, *L. L.* VI. 13, it was a ceremony of purification and atonement, to gain favor for the crops of the coming spring. For details, v. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, I. 388 sqq. As for Antony's attempt to establish the emblem of despotism on this occasion, cf. *Phil.* XIII. 31: *Lupercorum mentionem facere audet neque illius diei memoriam perhorrescit quo ausus est obrutus vino* (the Luperci had a banquet before they ran out), *unguentis oblitus, nudus, gementem populum Romanum ad servitutem cohortari?* It was a difficult thing sincerely to defend: *cui magnam invidiam conciliarat M. Antonius, omnibus audendis paratissimus*, etc. (Vell., II. 56); and so too in the 'speech' of Fufius Calenus (Dio Cass., XLVI. 17, 5) it is explained as an act of deliberate wisdom on Antony's part to restrain Caesar (sic!) from going any further in the direction of outward monarchy: 'most wisely (sic!) he turned him from it and most earnestly strove to keep him from it.'

**1013. faciat quod:** cf. §63.

**1015. ubi rhetoris:** viz. where the reasonableness of so enormous a fee comes in. All this particular training took place between September 2 and September 19; cf. *Phil.* V. 19: *Ipse interea septemdecim dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis declamitavit.*

**§85. 1016. in rostris:** officially *pro rostris;* cf. Suet., *Iulius*, 79: *pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum saepius capiti suo diadema reppulerit.* Appian, *B. C.* II. 109: ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσέου, πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων. Plut., *Ant.* c. 12, translates: καθήμενος ὑπὲρ βήματος. Dio Cassius (XLIV. 11) says: ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

**1017. in sella aurea, coronatus:** for list of honors, see Dio Cass., XLIV. 6: 'on the gilded throne.' **escendis, accedis:** the Historical Presents

render the description more dramatic. Plut. (*Ant.* 12) has a curious variant of detail : 'raised up by his fellow-runners.'

**1019. diadema ostendis**: cf. *Phil.* v. 38. **gemitus toto foro**: *στόνου παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων*, Appian, *B. C.* II. 109.

**1020. abiectum sustuleras**: *picked it up on the street.*

**1021. meditatum et cogitatum**: *the result of design and reflection;* cf. *Phil.* III. 36 : *de...libertate commentati atque meditati; Phil.* x. 6 : *scriptum, meditatum, cogitatum, attulisti.*

**1022. imponebas . . . reiciebat**: the action was repeated more than once. Cf. Appian, *B. C.* II. 109 : 'and Caesar again kept throwing it off' ; Plut., *Ant.* 12 : 'and again Antony kept putting it on and again he kept brushing it off. ...and when they were thus struggling with each other a long time.'

**§86. 1027. ut servires**: cf. *Phil.* III. 12 : *esset enim ipsi certe statim serviendum, si Caesar ab eo regni insignia accipere voluisset; Phil.* XIII. 17 : *cum Caesari diadema imponens Antonius servum se illius quam collegam esse malebat.*

**1028. ut omnia paterere**: cf. *Phil.* III. 12 : *qui foedo illo et flagitioso die et quid pati C. Caesare vivo posset...ostendit? Phil.* XIII. 17 : *si eius pueritia pertulerat libidines eorum qui erant in eum tyranni, etiamne in nos liberos dominum et tyrannum comparabat?*

**1029. mandatum id certe non habebas**: cf. Dio Cass., XLIV. 11 : 'saying : "this the people gives you through me."'

**1031. nudus contionatus**: *Phil.* III. 12 : *quo enim ille die populo Romano inspectante nudus, unctus, ebrius est contionatus et id egit ut collegae diadema imponeret, eo die se non modo consulatu sed etiam libertate abdicavit.*

**1033. stimulis fodiamus**: this was a form of torture applied to slaves; cf. Plaut., *Aul.* 45: *stimulorum seges; Cas.* 447: *stimulorum loculi; Most.* 57 : *ita te forabunt patibulatum per vias stimulis.*

**1035. summorum virorum**: the slayers of Caesar ; Cicero calls them *ἥρωες* in *Att.* XIV. 4.

**1036. qui imposuerit diadema**: cf. *Phil.* x. 7 : *nisi forte eos qui diadema imposuerint, conservandos, eos qui regni nomen sustulerint, deserendos putatis.*

**1038. abiecerit**: Campe reads *abnuerit;* but cf. Appian, *B. C.* II. 109 : *ἀπέρριψε*, and Plut., *Ant.* 12 : *ἀπετρίβετο* (*brushed it off*).

**§87. 1038. in fastis**: The Fasti Praenestini (Mayor's suggestion) as given by Orelli, II. p. 384, have nothing against February 15 but LVPER. N.P., but against *Nonae* of Feb.: Concordiae in arce feriae ex S. C. quod eo die Imperator Caesar (Augustus) Pontifex Maximus Trib. Potestate XXI. Cos. XIII. A. S. P. Q. Romano Pater Patriae

appellatus. As for Caesar himself, cf. Dio Cass., XLVI. 11: 'and they caused it to be inscribed in the records that he did not accept the royal dignity when it was being given *by the people* (sic!) through the consul.'

**1043. de die, in diem**: cf. § 104: *ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur*, Hor., *Carm.* I. 1, 19–20.

**1044. consistes**: *maintain yourself.*

**1046. L. Tarquinius**, etc: cf. § 114 (l. 1365), where we have substantially the same associations.

**1048. quod fas non est**: *which is a crime against divine and human law;* this shows strong feeling, and is no unmeaning interpolation, as Cornelissen, Campe, and Eberhard take it. And even Suetonius (*Iulius*, 79) relates thus: *neque ex eo infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere valuit.*

**§88. 1054. illum**: i.e. *Caesarem.*

**1056. incidi ... praevertendum**: 'have struck that emergency which must be given precedence (lit. put in front) above those topics which my discourse had begun to discuss'; *praeverti* occurs only here in orations, only once also in the philosophical works—*Div.* I. 10: *quod huic sermoni praevertendum putes.* Cf. Plaut., *Amph.* 528: *ne me uxorem praevertisse dicant prae re publica.*

**1058. Quae tua fuga**: cf. Plut., *Ant.* 14: 'Antony, exchanging his dress for that of a slave, concealed himself.' **formido**: Cicero probably speaks from ocular experience; cf. *Att.* XIV. 14, 4: *laetitiam quam oculis cepi iusto interitu tyranni;* App., *B. C.* II. 118: 'Antony fortified his house'; Dio Cass., XLIV. 20: 'and uttering only this very shout: "flee! shut (your house)! flee! shut (your house)!"'

**§89. 1062. frustra semper verissima**: like Cassandra's; cf. *de Orat.* II. 66, 265.

**1067. ceteri consulares**: cf. the list above, §12. Not many survived then; Piso probably was the chief one who earnestly favored a friendly settlement. **irent redirent**: cf. § 78 (l. 946): *isti redisti.*

**1068. neque ullam societatem**: while Brutus was then curiously sanguine about Antony; cf. Plut., *Brut.* 18: 'suggesting a hope of change: for he did not abandon the idea that a man of fine native endowment and ambitious would lend his aid to his country in the attainment of freedom, being carried along by their (the men of Brutus' own party) earnest devotion to moral ideals.'

**1070. P. diem tertium**: i.e. March 17, 44.

**1072. armati**: these belonged most likely to Lepidus; cf. Dio Cass., XLIV. 22.

**§90. 1073. inimicus subito**: immediately after Cicero had delivered

his first Philippic on September 2, 44. Up to that time Cicero had maintained diplomatic caution.

**1075. illius diei mentem**: and, indeed, Plutarch says of the close of that session, *Ant.* 14: 'Antony left the session of the senate the most glorious of men, seeming to have done away with civil war.'

**1077. M. Bambalionis nepotem**: this manner of designating the child, instead of *filium tuum, M. Antoni*, conveys an indirect taunt. Fulvia's father was called *Bambalio* on account of his stammering; cf. *Phil.* III. 16: *tuae coniugis, bonae feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius qui propter haesitantiam linguae stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia traxit.*

**1082. funeri tyranni sceleratissime praefuisti**: sc. by utterly throwing to the winds the agreement of amnesty and with deliberate skill so working upon the emotions of the populace as to make it impossible for Caesar's murderers to remain safely in Rome; cf. Plut., *Ant.* 14: ἐνέμιξεν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις οἶκτον ἅμα καὶ δείνωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει; also, *Brut.* 20: Antony showed the holes in Caesar's toga made by the poniards of the conspirators. The specific narrative (in Suet., *Iul.* 84) shows that it was an offhand change of ceremonial programme at Antony's instance: *Funere indicto rogus exstructus est in Martio campo, iuxta Iuliae tumulum.* The fatal effect for the cause of the Republicans had been foreseen; cf. *Att.* XIV. 9: *Meministine te clamare causam perisse, si funere elatus esset;* also XIV. 14.

**§91. 1085. semustulatus**: cf. *Phil.* I. 5: *illam insepultam sepulturam;* and similarly of Clodius, the fate of whose corpse was somewhat similar: *huius ambusti tribuni plebis* (*Mil.* 12); cf. also Plut., *Brut.* 20: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κλωδίου . . . πρότερον.

**1088. in nostras domus**: cf. Suet., *Iul.* 84: *plebs statim a funere ad domum Bruti et Cassii cum facibus tetendit atque aegre repulsa;* Cic., *Att.* XIV. 10: *servique et egentis in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi.*

**1089. quasi fuligine abstersa**: viz. symbolically, 'as if you had cleared yourself of complicity in the riots of the funeral occasion.' **reliquis diebus**: what is the point of time involved? Cicero's departure from Rome? (April 7?) or before Antony started on his tour to feel the pulse of the veterans? Cf. *Phil.* I. 2: *his principiis reliqua consentiebant.*

**1090. praeclara senatus consulta fecisti**: i.e. they were passed under your presidency (clearly before April 8–9); the motion was made by the eminent jurist Servius Sulpicius Rufus (Lange, III. p. 491); cf. *Phil.* I. 3: *adsentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio clarissimo viro voluit,*

*nequa tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut beneficii figeretur.*

**1091. immunitatis:** i.e. from taxation.

**1093. dictaturae nomen . . . sustulisti:** the *lex Antonia de dictatura in perpetuum tollenda* was passed probably before the end of March, or in the early days of April (Lange, III. p. 492), for the political effect of cheering up Cicero's political friends; cf. *Phil.* I. 4: *lux quaedam videbatur oblata.*

§**92. 1098. omnia:** *nothing but.*

**1099. diutius:** *for any length of time;* as a matter of fact, Cicero, in a letter to Atticus from his Tusculanum on April 8 or 9, expressed his lack of trust in Antony, *Att.* XIV. 3: *odorare tamen Antoni* διάθεσιν, *quem quidem ego epularum magis arbitror rationem habere quam quidquam mali cogitare;* on April 11 (*Att.* XIV. 5) he says: *ab aleatore* (sc. *Antonio*) φυρμὸς πολύς, and the tone of disgust is steadily deepened in the further letters. By April 27–28 the use of Caesar's *libelli* (by Antony) was in full swing; cf. *Att.* XIV. 14: *Quae ille* (*Caesar*) *facturus non fuit, ea fiunt, ut de Clodio, de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non facturum, sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisse.*

**1102. provinciis totis:** by the fictitious *lex Iulia de Siculis;* cf. *Att.* XIV. 12: *ecce autem Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem a dictatore comitiis latam qua Siculi cives Romani; cuius rei vivo illo mentio nulla.*

**1106. domesticis nundinis:** *market in his house;* the allusion was perhaps to Fulvia; cf. *Att.* XIV. 12: *per Fulviam.*

§**93. 1108. septiens miliens:** i.e. 7,000 × 100,000 sesterces, about $30,800,000 in our money. Cf. *Phil.* V. 11: *sestertium septiens miliens falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque avertit.* During the *bellum Mutinense* Antony presented to the Senate, as one of his conditions, that he was not to be called to account for this enormous fund; cf. *Phil.* VIII. 26; also, *Phil.* XII. 12: *sestertium septiens miliens avertisse Antonium pecuniae publicae iudicavistis.*

**1109. funestae illius** (sc. *Caesaris*) **pecuniae:** the further context seems to point to confiscation rather than to conquest. Cf. *Phil.* I. 17: *pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria.*

**1111. a tributis:** sc. taxation of Roman citizens.

**1114. a tuis:** Fulvia is probably meant. Cf. below, §95, *in gynaecio.*

**1115. unum egregium de rege Deiotaro:** cf. *Att.* XIV. 12 (April 22, 44): *Deiotari nostri causa non similis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam.*

**1117. in ipso dolore:** *in* (spite of) *all his sense of pain.*

§94. **1118. inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar**: cf. *Phil.* XI. 34: *qui (Pompeius) unum Deiotarum in toto orbe terrarum ex animo amicum vereque benivolum, unum fidelem populo Romano iudicavit.*

**1119. ut Massiliensibus**: the people of Marseilles in 49 took the side of Pompey, greatly incommoding Caesar's operations in the West. Cf. *Phil.* VIII. 19: *Caesar ipse, qui illis fuit iratissimus*, and Caesar, *B. C.* II. 23.

**1122. aequi boni**: an asyndetic legal phrase; generally *ex bono et aequo*; cf. *Dig.* XXI. 1, 42: *quanti bonum aequum videbitur iudici.*

**1123. gratiosus**: *influential* (i.e. as the recipient of gratia). **hospitem praesens**: the juxtaposition emphasizes the harshness of the proceeding; Haakh (Pauly s. v. *Deiotarus*) doubts the accuracy of this presentation, and thinks that Caesar made these dispositions later on; perhaps *hospes* dropped out before *hospitem*, or *hostis*; cf. *Div.* II. 79: *Caesarem eodem tempore hospitem et hostem vidit.*

**1124. unum ex Graecis comitibus**: sc. Mithridates of Pergamum, descended from Galatian tetrarchs (Dio Cass., XLI. 63); cf. Caes., *B. Alex.* 78: *iure gentis et cognationis.*

**1125. Armeniam abstulerat**: and given it to Ariobarzanes III. of Cappadocia, but (Dio Cass., XLI. 63) Caesar recompensed Deiotarus by giving him a portion of that part of Armenia which Caesar had taken from Pharnaces.

§95. **1128. verborum complexio**: *combination of words, phrase*; only here in Cicero's orations.

**1129. absenti . . . adfui**: *represented his interests* (as patronus) *in his absence.*

**1131. syngrapha**: *note of hand, bond.*

**1133. in gynaecio**: *in the boudoir*; an allusion to Fulvia's influence. Cf. *Att.* XIV. 12, and *in hanc*, §77 (l. 933).

**1135. quid sis acturus**: ironical: *what amount* (if any) *you will raise* on this note from Roman bankers: i.e. 'the note is worthless.' Deiotarus' action virtually repudiates the note.

**1137. suo Marte**: *with his own good sword.* Cf. *multo varioque Marte*, Vell., II. 90; *aperto Marte*, Sen., *Oedip.* 275; *aequo Marte*, Caes., *B. G.* VII. 19; *incerto Marte*, Tacit., *H.* IV. 35; *dubio Marte*, Vell., II. 55; Cic., *Verr.* III. 9: *cum vos vestro Marte his rebus omnibus abundetis.*

§96. **1138. tyranni**: and so too in the more deliberate and sedate tone of *de Officiis*, II. 23, composed about the same time: *nec vero huius tyranni solum, quem armis oppressa pertulit civitas paretque cum maxime mortuo*. . .(a veiled allusion to Antony's manipulation of the papers).

**1140. nemo igitur iure consultus:** i.e. 'it's a plain case in the civil law,' etc., the *do ut des* category of stipulation coming into play; the contract is void. *Iure consultus* appears in the *Digest* as Iurisconsultus, Iurisprudens, Iurisperitus. **ne iste quidem:** perhaps the *scriba* Clodius, who had been a tool of the tribune; cf. *de Dom.* 83: *quaere hoc ex Clodio scriptore legum tuarum.* He had served Fulvia's plans in January, 53; recently recalled from exile.

**1145. actorem:** Seyffert suggests *auctorem actorum;* a good reading. **acta defendimus:** cf. *Phil.* XIII. 10: *concordiae causa; Att.* XVI. 16, *C.* 12: *otii causa;* and below, §100 (l. 1190), *pacis causa.*

**§97. 1146. commentarius:** *notes:* really, the visible result of *comminiscor*, i.e. written record of deliberate study and reflection, even by dictation to the *librarius;* cf. above, §35; also *Phil.* I. 16: *in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis; Phil.* V. 12: *commentariis commenticiis chirographisque venalibus.*

**1149. institores:** *retailer, hawker, salesman;* lit. *qui stat in caupona, domini vice.* Ulpian, however, *Dig.* XIV. 3, 3, defines it: *Institor appellatus ex eo quod negotio gerendo instet;* but this is the secondary meaning, not the primary. **Gladiatorum libellos:** Iustus Lipsius (in Garatoni's edition) cites Cicero, *Fam.* II. 8: *gladiatorum compositiones*, how they were to be *paired* in the impending games: such a bill was called *libellus munerarius;* cf. Trebell. Poll., *Hist. Aug., Claud.* 5.

**1151. expendantur:** *weighed out;* the Romans had lost the etymological sense of *pecuniam pendere, expendere*, phrases which date from the pre-coinage practice.

**1152. fixa tabula:** *neve cuius beneficio figeretur*, §91; *figere tabulam* marks the *fait accompli* of legislation. I translate from Madvig, *Verf. u. Verw. d. Röm. St.* I. p. 268: 'A law definitely passed was engraved on a bronze plate (*in aes incidebatur*) and suspended on the Capitol, where the tables of the laws (*aera legum*) constituted a kind of collection of laws'; p. 269: 'and besides this, the laws were also *posted* for notification and information of the citizens in different places...'

**1157. Creta nihil ad Brutum:** When Caesar died, Brutus was praetor urbanus, and Macedonia, not Crete, had been designated by Caesar as the province of Brutus. Plutarch's account (*Brutus*, 19) is clearly inaccurate (Lange).

**1160. nemo ullius rei fuit emptor:** cf. *Phil.* III. 10: *una in domo omnes, quorum intererat, totum imperium populi Romani nundinabantur.*

**§98. 1161. de exulibus:** Caesar had actually been liberal in dealing with this class; cf. *Fam.* XV. 19, 3, and Lange III. p. 496.

**1167. simili in calamitate**: hence *calamitosi*; exile was *the* disaster above all others. Cf. above, §56 (l. 673); also Plato's *Crito* and Cicero's own letters from exile.

**1168. patrui**: C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague of 63. This matter of the exile is cleverly manipulated to lead up to his case. C. Antonius received Macedonia as proconsul through private agreement of Cicero; convicted of *repetundae* in 59, after his return, he went into exile at Cephallenia. Cicero's point is rather unfair, for January 1, 44, Antony's uncle again sat in the Senate.

**1169. ad censuram petendam**: the censorship after 50 (when e.g. Sallust was expelled from Senate) was of little account down to the time of Augustus and Agrippa. Caesar himself as praefectus morum had no motive for a restoration of the censorship. The personal unfitness of C. Antonius must have caused the whole idea of his candidacy to appear as grotesque, entirely apart from Antony's *comparatio petitionis* (see my paper, *Census Lists in Livy*, Am. Philol. Assoc. 1891).

**§99. 1172. sinistrum fulmen**: cf. *Div.* II. 42: *Iove tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas; ib.* §43: *Itaque comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen quod idem omnibus rebus optumum auspicium habemus, si sinistrum fuit.*

**1174. religiosus**: *scrupulous*, opposed to *perturbatio religionum*, §103.

**1175. septemviratu**: the commission of seven for assignment of public lands, cf. *Phil.* VIII. 26; *Phil.* XI. 13; *Phil.* XII. 23: *septemviralis auctoritas.*

**1176. cui** (emend. of Madvig for cũ of Vat.): must be closely connected with *negare*. Interference was made for the appointment on that commission by the man whom you feared to refuse—for it might have cost you your life. Cobet thinks it was M. Antony's brother Lucius, youngest of the three brothers, and trib. pl. in 44, and he cites *Phil.* VI. 10: *mortem fratri est minitatus.* On this agrarian board, see further *Phil.* V. 7, VI. 14, XII. 20, XI. 13 (*Italiae divisores*), VII. 16, VIII. 25.

**1179. sororem** (i.e. *consobrinam*) **tuam**: on this charge of infidelity, cf. Lange, *Röm. Alt.* III. p. 433. **alia condicione**: *another marriage alliance, match*; cf. Pliny, *Epist.* I. 10: *inter altissimas condiciones generum non honoribus principem, sed sapientia elegit.*

**1183. in senatu**, etc.: climax in the succession of emphatic specifications; cf. §63 (l. 759): *in coetu*, etc., with Quintilian's rhetorical comments there. This is exactly in the same vein and still more carefully articulated.

**1188. spurce:** *spurc-us* is associated with *porc-u-s* by Vaniček, p. 1187, as used of that which is dirty, impure, filthy, vile. Cf. Doederlein, *Synon.* II. 57. Similar are: *polluere, contaminare, maculare, inquinare, coenum;* cf. *Pis.* 1, 13.

§**100. 1189. quae tua fuit cognitio:** *what recension did you make* of Caesar's MSS.?

**1190. pacis causa:** cf. above, § 96.

**1193. si sunt falsa:** see Note on *quae diiunctius dicuntur*, §32 (l. 386), above.

**1195. cum consilio cognosceretis:** the consuls Antony and Dolabella were to review Caesar's *acta* jointly *with a committee* of senators. Perhaps *ex Kalendis* should be read; for it is not likely that the *entire* enormous business could be transacted in *one* day. Besides, a regular session of the Senate was already set for June 1. How could consuls and a committee sit on the same day as the Senate?

**1201. etiam Capuam Coloniam deducere:** as one of the *septemviri agris dandis adsignandis.* Cf. *Phil.* v. 21: Antony's assignments were to be reviewed by Hirtius and Pansa in 43; cf. *Phil.* v. 53. Early in 43 the Senate adopted a motion of L. Caesar, Antony's uncle, cancelling the assignments of these commissioners; cf. *Phil.* VI. 14; also *Phil.* XI. 12. Among the seven were the three Antonii, Dolabella, Nucula, Lento.

**1203. paene non abieris:** *were almost mobbed.*

§**101. 1203. Cui tu urbi:** *And this is the town* (Capua) *you threaten.*

**1206. vinulentiam:** the word occurs but once (referring again to Antony) in the speeches; cf. *Phil.* VI. 4: *quo libido rapuit, quo levitas, quo furor, quo vinulentia.*

**1209. tamen:** its correlative must be sought in *ut militibus daretur;* 'no matter how strong the claims of the veterans were, *still*,' etc.

**1211. mimos dico et mimas:** cf. *Phil.* VIII. 26: *cavet mimis, aleatoribus, lenonibus, Cafoni etiam et Saxae cavet, quos centuriones pugnaces et lacertosos inter mimorum et mimarum greges conlocavit; Phil.* X. 22: *cum videant se mimos et mimas habere vicinos; Phil.* XI. 13: (*Nucula and Lento*) *quorum alter commentatus est mimos, alter egit tragoediam.*

**1213. arationes:** *wheat lands*, lands intended for the plough, not *saltus*, lands for pasture; the word abounds in *Verr.* III.; cf. III. 119: *arationes et agros vectigalis.* Such lands could be rented, but not bought.

**1214. patrimonio:** *inherited estate:* as if the populus Romanus were a private person. **grandiferae:** *highly productive;* this word occurs but once in Cicero.

§**102. 1218. Casilinum quo Caesar ante:** Casilinum was on the site of modern Capua, on the Vulturnus. The assignment was a consequence, it seems, of the *lex Iulia agraria* of Caesar's consular year 59. Cicero wrote about it at the time (April—May, 59), *Att.* II. 16 : *si ulla res est quae bonorum animos, quos iam vides esse commotos, vehementius possit incendere, haec certe est, et eo magis, quod portoriis Italiae sublatis, agro Campano diviso quod vectigal superest domesticum praeter vicensimum?* (5 per cent. on manumissions—Tyrrell) ; but from this must be distinguished the actual *deductio* of veterans, which took place in some cases only a few months before Caesar's death (Suet., *Iul.* 81), and were all really due to the law of 59.

**1226. vexillum:** the vexillum shows the substantial military character of the original colonists : they were marched to the spot *sub vexillo.* Cf. *Phil.* v. 53 : *quo milites veterani deducti essent.* **aratrum:** a new community was marked out by ploughing a furrow about it. Cf. *Festus* s.v. *sulcus: sulci appellantur qua aratrum ducitur, vel sationis faciendae causa, vel urbis condendae.* Pomponius, *Digest.* L. 16, 239 : *urbare est aratro definire.*

**1228. territorium:** *domain;* the word only occurs here in Cicero. Cf. Pompon., *Digest.* L. 16, 239, 8 : *territorium est universitas agrorum intra fines cuiusque civitatis.*

§**103. 1229. M. Varronis:** M. Terentius Varro, the eminent antiquarian and literary scholar of Cicero's time (116–28 B.C.), senator and legatus under Pompey both in 67 in the maritime war and in 49 in the civil war in Spain, against Caesar. Ritschl, *Opuscula,* vol. III., has a detailed study of his works.

**1230. fundum Casinatem:** on the opposite bank (from the town) of the Vinius (Rapido) ; cf. Varro *de Re Rustica* III. 9. **quo iure:** *with what claim of law? ius* is, of itself, neutral ; cf. *iure aequo, Verr.* III. 6 ; *tam bono iure, Verr.* V. 58 ; *deteriore iure, Caecina,* 18.

**1231. quo ore?:** *with what face, what assurance;* cf. *Phil.* V. 16 : *illud os . . . fuisse, ut hos iudices legere auderet; Verr.* IV. 66 : *os hominis insignemque impudentiam.*

**1233. ab hasta:** in consequence of the auction sale of proscribed property ; cf. *Phil.* VIII. 9 : *hasta Caesaris, patres conscripti, multis improbis et spem adfert et audaciam. Viderunt enim ex mendicis fieri repente divites, itaque semper hastam videre cupiunt ii qui nostris bonis imminent ; Phil.* IV. 9 : *illa infinita hasta ;* also above, § 64 (l. 766). **valeat:** *let it stand.*

**1236. venisse:** from *veneo.*

**1239. magnum fuit:** *would have been too great* a task; cf. *longum est,* above.

§104. **1241. si etiam**: *if he actually* (and this is a fact) *wrote*; the phrase is almost causal in force. Caesar treated the great scholar with kindliness, and among his unexecuted plans, cut short by his death, was one to found a great Greek and Latin library, and put Varro in charge of the gathering and arranging of the works (Suet., *Iul.* 44).

**1244. iam**: *then.*

**1245. confidentiae**: *assurance;* cf. *Flacc.* 10: *quo voltu, qua confidentia.* **dominus**: *the legal owner;* clearly Antony had not much confidence in his own title, for he put Varro on the list of the proscribed in 43.

**1247. quam multos dies**: i.e. during the latter part of May, 44.

**1248. perbacchatus**: *spent in incessant and riotous revelry.*

**1249. quam dispari domino**: a poetical reminiscence. Cf. *Off.* I. 139: *odiosum est enim* (written in 44) *cum a praetereuntibus dicitur: o domus antiqua, heu quam dispari dominare domino, quod quidem his temporibus* (44) *in multis licet dicere.* (Allusion to Antony, etc.)

**1250. dominus**: *legal owner;* he who holds title.

**1251. tamen**: i.e. though we be liberal in using that term.

**1253. diversorium**: *sojourn;* temporary abode. Varro had a villa at Tusculum and one on the Gulf of Naples.

§105. **1254. litteris mandabantur**: cf. Ritschl, who (*Opuscula*, vol. III.) computes a total of 74 works in 620 books.

**1255. monimenta maiorum**: e.g. Antiquitatum libb. 41, de vita Populi Romani, de gente populi Romani, de familiis Troianis, tribuum liber, etc.

**1256. te inquilino**: the mere *sojourner* (*in-col-ere*) as opposed to the *dominus;* 'der aus der Fremde gekomnene Ansiedler der nicht das volle Bürgerrecht besass, Insasse, Miethsmann, Hausgenosse (Vaniček), *habitator alienae domus* (Forcellini); and thus Catiline said of Cicero (Sallust, *Cat.* 31): *cum eam servaret inquilinus civis urbis Romae.*

**1257. vocibus ebriorum**: cf. *Phil.* v. 15: *saltatores, citharistas, totum denique commissationis Antonianae chorum.*

**1258. pavimenta**: *the floors;* because carousing was carried on in many apartments. They may have been either *testacea, tesselata*, or *marmorea;* cf. Becker, *Gallus*, p. 270.

**1260. Aquino**: a little further toward Rome, on the *via Latina*, birthplace of Juvenal and St. Thomas Aquinas. **Interamna**: one of three towns of that name, a *colonia civium Romanorum*, at the confluence of the Casinus and the Liris.

**1262. obsolefiebant**: from *obs-ole-sco*, lit. *grow back, decay;* opposed to *adolesco, pro-les, sub-oles, ind-oles.*

§106. **1263. proficiscens**: not long before June 1, 44.

**1264. frequens**: *populous.* The amphitheatre of Pompeii is a standard for estimating the capacity of many minor towns of Italy.

**1266. in via**: i.e. *Latina.*

**1267. devii**: Anagnia, like so many towns of the Volscian district, was built on a site of impregnable strength, but some distance from the *via Latina.* The modern railway station is 8 kilometres from Anagni. Neighboring Signia and Aletrium were similarly situated. **tamquam si esset consul**: i.e. in a strict constitutional sense and as mandatory of the Senate: Cicero said similarly of Piso (cons. 58): *an ego consulem esse putem qui senatum esse in re publica non putavit, et sine eo consilio consulem numerem, sine quo Romae ne reges quidem esse potuerunt? Pis.* 23; cf. above, *Phil.* II. §10; also *Phil.* III. 12: *nec vero M. Antonium consulem post Lupercalia debuistis putare.*

**1271. alter poculorum**: i.e. *magister bibendi.* On both worthies, cf. *Att.* XVI. 11, 3 (November 5, 44): *Anagnini sunt Mustela ταξιάρχης et Laco qui plurimum bibit.*

§107. **1273. Sidicinos**: Teanum.

**1274. patronos adoptassent**: defender, advocate; in Greek, πρόξενος, our modern consul. Cf. *Verr.* II. 103: *Lentulum patronum Siciliae,* or the 35 tribes to Lucius Antonius; *Phil.* VI. 12: *aspicite illam a sinistra equestrem statuam inauratam, in qua quid inscriptum est? 'Quinque et Triginta Tribus Patrono.'*

**1275. magno . . . studio**: 'and this they did on account of their great zeal,' etc.

**1278. dum tu abes**: before June 1, 44, and probably at the end of April, 44 (Lange, III. 500). In the earlier part of May, Cicero was in ecstasy over Dolabella's acts in summarily dealing with the riots connected with the Caesar worship on the Forum.

**1279. bustum in foro evertit**: sc. the *ara Caesaris;* cf. Phil. I. 5: *eversio illius execratae columnae.*

**1283. de caelo detraxisti**: Antony bought him, it seems. Cf. *Att.* XVI. 15, 1: *quod cum eam* (sc. *rem publicam*) *me auctore* (sic!) *defendere coepisset, non modo deseruerit, emptus pecunia, sed etiam quantum in ipso fuit, everterit.*

§108. **1286. Cinnam . . . Sullam . . . Caesarem**: the successful autocrats, when the constitutional prohibition of arms *intra moenia* could be safely ignored. Not even Hirtius and Pansa went to Rome to attend the session of June 1, 44.

**1289. barbaria**: cf. §112, and *Phil.* V. 37: *cum omni immanitate barbariae bellum inferre nobis; Phil.* XI. 6: *cuius taeterrima crudelitate omnis barbaria superata est; Phil.* XIII. 18: *qua enim in bar-*

*baria quisquam tam taeter, tam crudelis tyrannus, quam in hac urbe armis barbarorum stipatus Antonius?* **agmine quadrato**: i.e. so that it could front in any direction; hence, *in full array ready for action.*

**1290. scutorum lecticas**: cf. *Phil.* v. 18: *lecticae conlocabantur, non quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipse ferrent, laborarent.*

**1293. venire vellemus**: Cicero speaks of the Senate collectively. He himself did not approach nearer to Rome than to his Tusculanum, where he was on May 31, 44. Cf. *Att.* xv. 8, which letter proves that Cicero entertained no intention of entering Rome.

**§109. 1294. qui senatu non egeret**: cf. *Phil.* i. 6: *nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum et absente et invito.*

**1299. numerum annorum . . . prorogavit**: Caesar, after he had himself acquired *dominatio* by his long *imperium*, promptly had a law passed limiting the period for the future: *quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica saepius flagitata quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares optinerentur?* says Cicero approvingly in *Phil.* i. 19.

**1302. in publicis nihil est lege gravius**: cf. *Phil.* i. 18: *in maximis vero rebus, id est in legibus, acta Caesaris dissolvi ferendum non puto.*

**1303. firmissimum est testamentum**: for it had to be witnessed by seven witnesses at one and the same time, none of whom could be in the *potestas* either of the testator or the heir. **sine promulgatione**: the bill (*rogatio*) had to precede the comitia when it was to be passed by a minimum of three nundinae (24 days); cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. p. 375. Vaniček, p. 699, associates *promulgo* with *multum*: 'bring before the multitude.' Cf. Festus (Mommsen, *ib.* p. 371), p. 224: *promulgari leges dicuntur cum primum in vulgus eduntur, quasi provulgari.*

**1305. testamentum inritum** (*in-ratum*) **fecit**: Antony merely had acted so as to avoid or postpone the execution of Caesar's will, particularly as to legacies willed to the people. A heated dispute between him and the heir Octavian is elaborated with curious detail by Appian, *B. C.* iii. 15–21, though it is not mentioned in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus. Cicero's phrase is an exaggeration in a civil sense; on *testamentum irritum* and *ruptum*, cf. Justinian *Instit.* ii. 17.

**1307. legavit**: cf. Suet., *Iul.* 83; Caesar had made the will on September 13, 45: *Populo hortos circa Tiberim* (on the right bank) *publice et viritim trecenos sestertios legavit.*

**1308. in villam Scipionis**: at Tibur (Tivoli): where he prepared, September 2–19, the speech against Cicero of September 19, 44.

**§110. 1309. in Caesaris memoria diligens**: this latter part of this

political pamphlet was designed to widen the cleavage between Antony and Caesar's heir.

**1311. haberet pulvinar**: as a god; cf. Dio Cass., XLIV. 6, 4: 'In the end they called him Jupiter Julius outright.' **fastigium** (ἀκρωτήριον): Caesar was to receive a *domus publica* on the Palatine, distinguished by the crowning device on the gable, as was customary on the roofs of temples only; cf. Lange, III. 462. Such a one was on the *regia*, his official residence as pontifex maximus, where he slept the last night of his life, according to Plut., *Caes.* 63: 'the Senate having voted the *fastigium* to his honor and majesty as Livy relates.'

**1312. flamen**: cf. Dio Cass., XLIV. 6 (i.e. to Caesar and his Clementia), 'having chosen Antony a priest to them as a kind of flamen Dialis,' but Antony could not enter on these duties unless inaugurated; hence the scornful conclusion: he was not in earnest about honoring Caesar after March 15.

**1318. ludorum Romanorum**: given by curule aediles; according to *Verr.* V. 36, the Circensian games (*Iovi Iunoni Minervaeque*) in these celebrations began on September 15.

**1320. quintus praeterea dies**: *a fifth extra day*; 'September 19 *is* this extra day, but it was absolutely neglected by Antony.'

**1323. contaminari**: Cicero uses this phrase *ex sua propria persona*; see next Note.

**§111. 1326. mihi . . . nihil istorum placet**: cf. *Phil.* I. 13: *An me censetis, patres conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse* (on September 1, 44) *ut parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur, ut inexpiabiles religiones in rem publicam inducerentur, ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo?*

**1328. non cures**: *treat with indifference.*

**1329. quid ad haec tandem**: *what reply, pray, can you make to this point?*

**1330. disertissimum**: Cicero withholds the term *eloquentissimum*. The *de Oratore* places the Orator Antonius distinctly second to Crassus.

**1332. nudus**: Cicero refers to the scene at the Lupercalia, February 15, 44; cf. *Phil.* III. 12: *quo . . . ille die populo Romano inspectante nudus, unctus, ebrius est contionatus.* Besides, Antony was fond of displaying his fine figure; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 4: 'for always, whenever he was to be seen by a considerable number of people, he would gird his tunic up to his thigh.'

**§112. 1337. hoc punctum temporis**: *this actual moment.*

**1338. armatorum corona**: *a ring of armed men* (namely, on September 19, 44); cf. Cicero's retrospect, *Phil.* III. 30: *senatum stiparit armatis, armatos in cella Concordiae, cum senatum haberet, incluserit.*

**1340. valvae...non patent:** Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. p. 471, cites Pliny, *Ep.* VIII. 14, 5: *honores petituri adsistebant curiae foribus et consilii publici spectatores ante quam consortes erant.*

**1341. Ityraeos:** cf. *Phil.* V. 18: *certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii; Phil.* XIII. 18: *hoc archipirata...haec subsellia ab Ityraeis occupabantur.* The Ityraeans lived in the mountainous region, north of Damascus, and were nomads and robbers.

**1342. praesidii sui causa:** as a bodyguard; Antony had learned a lesson from Caesar's trustfulness in this regard. Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 57.

**1345. caritate et benivolentia civium:** *the affection and good-will of the citizens.* Cf. above, §60, for the thought; also *Phil.* I. 29: *non opes violentas...sed caritatem civium et gloriam concupivisse; Phil.* VIII. 18: *caritas patriae.*

**§113. 1347. eripiet...salvis:** 'a civil war is sure to come in which you will lose your power; only, at what cost to the state at large.'

**1350. sine contumelia:** the guarded manner in which he refers to Fulvia (so different from his dialogue with Clodia in *pro Caelio*) is, after all, mainly ironical; later, he threw off the mask; cf. *Phil.* VI. 4; XIII. 18.

**1352. tertiam pensionem:** *the third installment of her payment;* (Forcellini: *tertii mariti mortem*). Large payments were often made in installments. Clodius and Curio are dead; Antony remains; cf. *Phil.* V. 11: *mulier sibi felicior quam viris.*

**1353. ubicumque terrarum:** D. Brutus in Mutina; Brutus, Trebonius, Cassius, and Tillius Cimber in the East.

**1355: ulta est...reciperavit:** in the spring of 43 Cicero identified outright the Republicans in the East with the state and with the government at large; cf. *Phil.* X. 14: *Tenet igitur res publica Macedoniam, tenet Illyricum, tuetur Graeciam: nostrae sunt legiones, nostra levis armatura, noster equitatus, maximeque noster est Brutus,* etc., in a letter of May 3, 44 (*Fam.* XII. 1), he says: *adhuc ulta (res publica) suas iniurias est per vos interitu tyranni; nihil amplius: ornamenta vero sua quae reciperavit?*

**1357. quam volent:** Plural of *quamvis.*

**1359. nomen pacis dulce:** cf. *Phil.* XIII. 1: *dulce enim etiam nomen est pacis, res vero ipsa cum iucunda, tum salutaris.*

**1360. inter pacem et servitutem:** the same antithesis, *Phil.* VIII. 12: *servitutem pacem vocas,* etc... *tu arma abicienda censes ut serviamus; Phil.* XII. 14: *cum iis facta pax non erit pax sed pactio servitutis.*

**1361. servitus postremum malorum:** *Phil.* III. 12: *Cum autem omnis servitus est misera, tum vero intolerabile est servire impuro, impudico.*

**§114. 1365. Tarquinium:** *Phil.* III. 9: *Illi regibus parere iam a*

*condita urbe didicerant: nos post reges exactos servitutis oblivio ceperat.*

**1369. in regnantem**: the odious associations of *rex*, *regnum*, *regius*, *regnare* were so deeply imbedded in the Roman consciousness as to induce the wary Octavianus after Actium to choose the moderate term of *princeps*; cf. Horace, *Sat.* I. 7, 33: *per magnos, Brute, deos, te | oro, qui reges consueris tollere...*; Cic., *Cat.* IV. 12: *cum mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum...*; *Mil.* 43, *cum se ille interfecto Milone regnaturum putaret*; *Phil.* III. 9: *D. Brutus sceleratum...regnare patietur Antonium?*; *Phil.* V. 44: *Sulla regnavit.*

**1372. caelo capi**: *caelum* is here the firmament above us, the zenith of which is the highest point attainable in the popular conception of space or elevation; cf. Hor., *Carm.* I. 1, 36: *sublimi feriam sidera vertice.*

**1374. mortali immortalitatem**: perhaps an unconscious reminiscence of a literary kind; viz. the Elogium of Naevius (Gell. I. 24, 1).

Immortales mortales si foret fas flere
Flerent divae Camenae Naevium poetam.

§115. **1376. diem quo dictaturam**: probably before the end of March, 44. Dio Cass., XLIV. 51, places it immediately after Caesar's funeral celebration; it certainly was within a *very* short time after the session of March 17; cf. *Phil.* I. 32: *Proximo, altero, tertio, denique reliquis consecutis diebus non intermittebas quasi donum aliquod cotidie adferre rei publicae, maximum autem illud, quod dictaturae nomen sustulisti.*

**1377. laetitiam senatus**: cf. *Phil.* I. 32: *quo senatus die laetior, quo populus Romanus?*

**1378. nundinatione**: a conjectural restoration of Vat. MS. *inmanum latione*, supported by Lambinus, Madvig, and Müller. The reading *mutatione* (Jeep) has in its favor *Phil.* I. 33, where we have the same substantial sentiment in almost the same sequence: *unde igitur subito tanta ista mutatio?*

**1380. lucrum et laudem**: *gold and glory*; cf. *Phil.* I. 31: *unum illum diem* (March 17) *quo in aede Telluris senatus fuit, non omnibus his mensibus quibus te quidam multum a me dissentientes beatum putant, anteponis?*

**1382. verae laudis gustatum**: there is a strong resemblance between the last concluding sentiments of *Phil.* I. and II.; in both, the pointing to Caesar's career and end is the last appeal to Antony. Cf. *Phil.* I. 29: *est autem gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publicam*

*meritorum, quae cum optimi cuiusque tum multitudinis testimonio comprobatur.*

**1384. ne metus quidem:** and so *Phil.* I. 33: *metui vero et in odio esse invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum.* **innocentiam:** *freedom from guilt, good conscience;* cf. *noxa, innoxius.* The time from January 1, 43, is understood; he could not be impeached during his year.

§**116. 1390. dies et noctes timere:** Caesar (Plut., *Caes.* 57) in declining a bodyguard, said: βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἀεὶ προσδοκᾶν.

**1391. nisi vero . . . quam ille:** this sentiment really uttered before in simpler form; cf. *Phil.* I. 35: *Si enim exitus C. Caesaris efficere non potest ut malis carus esse quam metui, nihil cuiusquam proficiet nec valebit oratio.*

**1393. Fuit in illo,** etc.: The rest of this speech is one of the finest passages in the whole domain of Roman prose literature. Cicero, sustaining the rôle of *patronus,* raises Caesar's eminence somewhat beyond his own real sympathies. The aim is to depress the valuation of Antony by contrast. The sympathies or the *pietas* of young Octavianus did not restrain in any way Cicero's sentiments, nor even later, during the *bellum Mutinense,* did he suppress his deep convictions: cf. *Phil.* V. 49: *omnem vim ingenii quae summa fuit in illo, in populari levitate consumpsit. Itaque cum respectum ad senatum et ad bonos non haberet, eam sibi viam ipse patefecit ad opes suas amplificandas, quam virtus liberi populi ferre non posset.*

**1397. muneribus . . . epulis:** he began in 64–63 by pushing the *lex agraria* of Rullus: for specific data, particularly with regard to the fourfold triumph of 46, cf. Suet., *Iul.* 38–39.

**1399. suos praemiis:** collectively; cf. *Att.* XIV. 14, 5: *vides tamen tyranni satellites in imperiis.* **clementiae specie:** Cicero is ungenerous in adding *specie;* his fervid periods in *pro Marcello* are full of real truth. Cicero had seen the other autocracies of Marius and Cinna, and of Sulla, as he is fond of recounting.

§**117. 1405. inustae:** lit. *branded upon,* so as to be ineffaceable; a phrase which was probably drawn from branding slaves (στίζειν στιγματίας). Cicero in the orations has: *notam inurere, dolorem, infamiam, ignominiam, mala, odium, scelera, signa* (Merguet). It occurs but once in the philosophical writings—*Tusc.* III. 19: *dolorem.*

**1406. quantum—quibus—a quibus:** the three clauses are coördinate, after *didicit.*

**1408. re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum:** notice the characteristic rhetorical articulation; cf. above, §52 (l. 634): *cum te*

*neque principes civitatis rogando, neque maiores natu monendo, neque frequens senatus agendo...movere potuisset...*

§118. **1411. curretur :** *men will speed.*

**1412. occasionis tarditas :** a brachylogy—'the slow development of a suitable opportunity.'

**1413. resipisce . . . considera :** forcible chiasmus.

**1414. mecum uti voles :** i.e, 'be reconciled with me or preserve the hostility with which you threatened me on September 2.

**1415. De te tu videris :** I will leave to you the way in which you will consider your self-preservation. For the tense, see G. 245.

**1416. adulescens :** an exaggeration, for contrast; in 63 Cicero was forty-three years old; what preceded 63 could hardly count.

**1418. corpus :** *my physical existence.* **obtulerim** (*παράσχοιμι ἄν*): Potential mood; cf. G. §257, 2.

**1419. repraesentari :** Merguet's *darstellen, bilden* misses this passage entirely; it means rather *bring about at once, cause a speedy enactment;* cf. Caes., *B. G.* I. 40, where *repraesentare* is in contrast with *in longiorem diem conferre.* **aliquando :** *at last;* a mark of impatient expectation.

§119. **1421. hoc ipso in templo negavi :** cf. *Cat.* IV. 3 (December 5, 63): *nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere, neque immatura consulari, nec misera sapienti.*

**1424. optanda mors, perfuncto,** etc.: and so in the preceding spring and summer he says, May 8, *Att.* XIV. 19: *ille exilium meditari, nos autem alium portum propiorem huic aetati videbamus...*; cf. *Phil.* I. 14: *mihi vero licet et semper licebit dignitatem tueri, mortem contemnere; Phil.* XII. 21: *vitae censetisne, patres conscripti, habendam mihi aliquam esse rationem?; ibid.* 30: *mors aut necessitatem habeat fati, aut, si ante oppetenda est, oppetatur cum gloria.*

**1429. mereatur :** Subjunctive due to initial *ut* after *opto,* l. 1425.

# CRITICAL APPENDIX

THE chief manuscript of the Philippics (up to XI. 22) is a Vatican MS. in the archives of St. Peter in Rome, of the ninth century A.D. The copyist of this MS. did his work in a most mechanical way, often misplacing words or blending them, and committing other acts of confusion or somnolence.* For example, the copyist wrote *UIT* for *UTI*, l. 33; *consultusus* for *consul tum usus*, l. 175; *et* for *te*, l. 542; *confirmaviat*, in 554, where he almost completed a Perfect form, and then tapered off with the two last letters of the Imperfect; *bonis* for *nobis*, 664; *gens* for *gerens*, 759; *omen* for *omne*, 1095; *advis* for *a tuis*, 1114; *sinestra* for *sine nostra*, 1132; *gynicaeo* for *gynaecio*, 1133; *mecum utiles* for *mecum uti voles*, 1414. Later MSS.—those of Tegernsee, Bamberg, Wolfenbüttel, Bern—have, as a rule, no more authority than any other corrections or suggestions. In the following notes the first reading is that of the text.

**5. optaram**, Madvig; *optarem*, Codices.—**20. uberius quam et pro me**, Campe; *uberius quam mihi*, Vat.—**uberius cuiquam**, Baiter, Seyffert; *uberius quam me hic*, Jeep.—**35. Fadi**, *Fadii*, Codd.; cf. Bücheler-Windekilde, §176.—**37. ventitabas**, Cobet; *ventitaras*, Codd.—**65. mea te**, *me* inserted by Madvig.—**74. maledictis**, Halm; *maledicti*, Vat.; *maledicto*, later MSS.—**80. pudica**, Cobet, and, before him, Garatoni; *impudica*, Codd.—**82. multae iam et**, Sihler; *multae et iam*, Vat.; *multae et tam*, Halm; *multae et sane*, Koch-Eberhard.—**88. urbanorum**, Eberhard, after Hirschfeld; *bonorum*, Codd.—**97. Mustelae iam esse**; *mus et laetam esse*, Vat.—**118. impetrasti**, Bake, Wesenberg; *impetras*, Codd.—**140. sententia**; *sententiae*, Vat.—**145. domi**; *domus*, Vat.—**175. consul tum usus sum**; *consul usus sum*, Vat.; according to Halm, *consultusus sum;* Vat., according to Müller, *consultus sum.*—**211. cui quia**, etc., substantially the reading of the Vaticanus, not *quem*, etc.—**312. illis actoribus**, Madvig, Cobet; *auctoribus*, Codd.—

* Muretus, who was permitted to collate the MS. for seven days at Rome, wrote in his preface, Paris, 1562: 'Non enim facile crediderit quisquam, quam multa in his orationibus mutila, quam multa temere addita, quam multa corrupta ac depravata legerentur in omnibus aliis libris, quae huius ope expleta, refecta, sanata et integritati suae restituta sunt.'

**341. quia sciebam**, Graevius; *qui sciebam*, Codd.—**383. atqui haec acta**, Jahn, Halm; *atque h. a.*, Codd.—**444. iacēres**, Campe; *egeres*, Codd.; perhaps *egenus iaceres*.—**480. ne de iocis**, Wesenberg; *ne iocis*, Codd.—**487. hereditates**; *hereditate*, Vat.—**496. quem albus**, Cobet; *qui*, Codd.—**502. inquies**; *inques*, Vat.—**506. invasisti**, Heumann, Cobet; *invasit*, Codd.—**511. ingenii acuendi**, later MSS.; *ingeniendi*, Vat.—**546. demitterere**; *dimitterere*, Codd.—**554. confirmabat**; *confirmaviat*, Vat.—**575. qui sua**; Cobet demands *is qui sua*.—**583. quae autem domus**; Vat., altera manus: *quae autem erat domus?*—**587. venisti e Gallia**; *venisse Gallia*, Vat.—**588. parentem tuam**; *p. tuum*, Codd.—**591. postea sum cultus**, Muretus; *potense, s. c.*, Vat.—**observatus**; *onatus*, Vat.; *sublevatus*, Muretus; *auctus*, Jeep; *adiutus*, Halm.—**606.** The insertion of *haurire* or *devorare*, suggested by Faernus.—**610. decus**; *dedecus*, Codd.—**636. movere potuisset**, Madvig; *m. potuit*, Vat.—**650. in persona**, later MSS.; *persona*, Vat.—**664. nobis**; *bonis*, Vat.—**671. effecerat**, Cobet; *perfecerat*, Codd.—**676. Denticulum**, Bücheler; *Denticulam*, Codd.—**677. non** inserted by Muretus.—**686. nihilo est**; *n. sit*, Vat.—**724. fac id te dedisse**; *fiunt edidisse*, Vat.—**727. te haec ausurum viderem**, Hirschfeld, Eberhard; *te haec auditurum videres*, Codd.—**733. tot dierum iter obviam**, Müller; *tot dierum via*, Vat.—**759. negotium publicum gerens**; *n. p. gens*, Vat.—**782. et esse**; *esse*, Codd.—**813. sine lacrimis**; after *adspicere*, Cobet.—**831. pro conclavibus popinae**; *p. c. popinae triclinis*, Vat.—**832. mimulam suam**, Cornelissen; *illam suam*, Codd.—**871. excussis**; *exclusis*, Madvig; *explosis*, Hirschfeld.—**882. eis ipsis**; *his ipsis*, Codd.—**900. quid dices**, Sihler; *quid es*, Codd.; *quid audes*, Hirschfeld.—**907. cum tu**; *tu tu*, Vat.—**921. e qua**; *qua*, Vat.—**923. cucurristi**; *accucurristi*, Pluygers.—**926. vesperum**, Gellius, *N. A.* VI. 11, 6; *vesperam*, Codd.—**932. illim**; *illinon*, Codd.—**990. deinde ita ut adsolet (sex) suffragia (equitum)**, Halm, after Mommsen; 'Nemo mortalium hunc locum intellegit neque haec verba explicari aut emendari ullo modo possunt,' Cobet, Mnemosyne, 1879, p. 124.—**1013. nauseet**, bracketed by Cobet and Pluygers.—**1038. abiecerit**; *abnuerit*, Campe.—**1095. omne nomen**; *omen nomen*, Vat.—**1096. proximi**; *proximum*, Vat.—**1101. venibant**; *veniebant*, Codd.—**1124. pecuniam imperarat**, Campe, 1865; *p. impetrarat*, Codd.—**1132. sine nostra**; *sinestra*, Vat.—**1133. gynaecio**; *gynicaeo*, Vat.—**1145. actorem**; *auctorem*, Codd.—**1163. exaequatos**, Weber; *inquinatos*, Vulgate.—**1180. prospecta**, Graevius; *perspecta*, Manutius; *perispectia*, Vat.—**1181. Quid est quod addi possit? Contentus eo non fuisti**: I have reversed the order of these clauses in accordance with Cobet's suggestion.—**1202. illinc abieris**: *illi cavieris*, Vat.—**1268. cum vinus**,

Vat.; *sed sum vicinus*, Madvig; *tum visu*, Nipperdey; *tamen vicinos*, Halm.—**1314. inaugurarís**; *inauguraras*, Vat.—**1378. hac nundinatione**, Lambinus; *haec, inmanum latione*, Vat.—**1405. hoc tamen boni extitit**, Koch, Müller; *h. t. bonis ē et*, Vat.—**1413. resipisce**, Jeep; *respice*, Codd.—**1414. uti voles**; *utiles*, Codd.

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